



THE KEYNOTER



**FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
AND THE AGE OF THE NEW DEAL**

President's and Editor's Message

This double-issue tribute to the legacy of Franklin Delano Roosevelt represents nearly two years of work for the authors and the editorial and production staff of the *Keynoter*. Originally scheduled for early 1983—to coincide with the 50th anniversary of FDR's coming to the presidency—the issue has been delayed for several months by the sheer immensity of producing and funding a project of this magnitude. In addition to more than three times our normal labors of research, writing, editing, layout, and production, this *Keynoter* required Bill Arps, Ronnie Lapinsky, and the two of us to travel to Chicago last summer to shoot twelve hundred photographs of more than five thousand items to provide the quantity and quality of illustrations equal to the objectives of this issue.

For their truly exceptional contributions to this endeavor, we are grateful to Bill, Ronnie, John Vargo, Robert Platt, and Robert Rouse. Without the generous financial contributions of Joseph M. Jacobs, Robert W. Komer, Edward Potter, H. Joseph Levine, Norman Loewenstern, Scott Caplain, Robin Powell, Morton Rose, Edward Mitchell and David Frent, an issue of this scope and expense could not have been published.

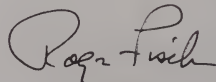
In a larger sense, however, this *Keynoter* pays tribute to two men of uncommon talent and vision and awesome energy, Franklin Roosevelt and Joseph M. Jacobs, the New York patrician who became the dominant American politician and statesman of this century and the Chicago attorney who has honored him by spending nearly four decades assembling the finest single-candidate collection of political memorabilia in existence. The extraordinary impact of FDR upon our government, politics, and society is well known, although one aspect of the Roosevelt legacy not so universally understood is his place in the hearts of the many millions of "forgotten Americans" he led through the crises of depression and world war. This veneration of FDR often found eloquent expression in material objects of nearly every sort. Joe Jacobs' collection provides us with a unique opportunity to revisit history and to experience personally this love affair between Roosevelt and the common people.

An outstanding labor lawyer for more than fifty years who has participated in many landmark labor cases before the United States Supreme Court, Joe Jacobs developed his dedication to Rooseveltiana as a result of his early professional experiences in the New Deal crusade that revitalized the American labor movement. Encouraged by his wife Esther and assisted by his son Mark, Joe has built a remarkable collection. In addition to the buttons and other types of material culture shown in this issue, the collection includes a massive array of documentary items—ten thousand press releases, proclamations, executive orders, and legislative messages issued by FDR as governor and president; the official collection of FDR's speeches and public papers; thousands of books, articles, and pamphlets written by, for, or against him (many autographed); hundreds of letters and documents signed by FDR; family records; hundreds of song sheets; campaign and inaugural publications; photographs and portraits; New Deal publications; anti-Roosevelt publications (including some of the most lurid hate literature ever published in this country); hundreds of posters, leaflets, and handbills; and commemorative stamps issued by sixty-seven countries. This massive paper collection has been donated to the library of the University of Illinois-Chicago Circle, where it is being used heavily by scholars researching the Roosevelt years. It is being catalogued for a bibliography that will be published by the University of Illinois Press.

In tracking down and preserving such an extraordinary array of Roosevelt memorabilia, Joe Jacobs has done much to keep alive the legacy of FDR. All political collectors and students of our political heritage are in his debt.



Robert A. Fratin
President



Roger A. Fischer
Editor

**Editor**

Roger A. Fischer

1930 Hartley, Duluth, MN 55803

Associate Editors

Edith Mayo

Edmund B. Sullivan

Historian

U.I. "Chick" Harris

Locals Editor

Preston Malcom

Brummagem Editor

Neal Machander

Contributors

Alben W. Barkley II

David Frent

Robert Platt

Robert Rouse

John Vargo

Photography

Bill Arps

Roger Fischer

Robert Fratkin

Support Services

Vi Hayes

Ronnie Lapinsky

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Covers: **Front:** Multicolor print on blue cloth. **Back:** Bronze lapel pin (enlarged).

APIC seeks to encourage and support the study and preservation of original materials issuing from and relating to political campaigns of the United States of America and to bring its members fuller appreciation and deeper understanding of the candidates and issues that form our political heritage.

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IN THE NEXT ISSUE

The Fall Keynoter will feature articles on John W. Davis, John Nance Garner, the role of Benjamin Harrison in the campaign of 1896, and a previously unpublished letter from Champ Clark on the House vote for the 19th Amendment.

F.D.R. — THE MATERIAL LEGACY

by JOHN VARGO

With the centennial of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's birth and fiftieth anniversary of his election to the presidency both occurring in 1982, it is appropriate that the Keynote dedicate an issue to the material issued for his political campaigns. Roosevelt's public career spanned more than a third of a century and included ten campaigns for public office. Fortunately for collectors, there are buttons or other displayable materials available from each of these campaigns, although the items from his pre-presidential races are few in number. There is even a poster picturing FDR issued while he held the one non-elective position of his career, Assistant Secretary of the Navy (the poster contains a World War I-related message to the "Men and Women of Connecticut").

The material issued for his four presidential campaigns is undoubtedly the most interesting from a sheer historical point of view. FDR so dominated the national consciousness during the twelve crisis-filled years of his presidency that his presidential campaign material naturally reflects the issues and tenor of these times, as well as the confidence and even the love that he inspired from so many Americans.

His pre-presidential campaigns, on the other hand, were quite brief in duration and were generally based more on personal appeal than on any particular issues. Hence there was relatively little material issued for these campaigns, and such that does exist is rather plain. What makes his pre-presidential career so interesting, however (other than the obvious fact that it culminated in his election to the presidency), is that it followed such a logical progression. Each step he took, beginning with his election to the New York state senate in 1910, seemed to prepare him for—and enable him to take—the next step. The only "false move" along the way was his ill-fated campaign for the U. S. Senate in 1914. Thus while the materials issued for these campaigns do not, by and large, reflect controversy or any great issues, they do show the path of this remarkable political career.

His election to the New York state senate in 1910 in his first campaign for public office revealed many things about Roosevelt. It showed that he was willing to take serious risks in politics, for the district in which he ran was a solidly Republican one, the 26th, composed of his home county of Dutchess and the neighboring counties of Putnam and Columbia. Since the formation of the Republican party in 1854, only one Democrat had ever won election from the district. In 1910 Roosevelt faced Republican incumbent John Schlessor, who had won easily in 1908. Secondly, the 1910 race demonstrated Roosevelt's attractiveness as a candidate. Besides his famous name, the major reason for his 15,708 to 14,568 victory over Schlessor was an extensive speaking tour of the district, touring in a red Maxwell to hammer away at Republican bossism.

There are two items attributable to the 1910 campaign, a 7/8" celluloid button made by Bastian Brothers that read "FOR STATE SENATOR FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT" and an attractive poster with the same photograph, a facsimile

signature underneath, and the message "Franklin D. Roosevelt For State Senator/Counties of Columbia, Dutchess and Putnam." This poster is actually a two-piece item, with the photograph glued to a cardboard backing. Since both FDR and his mother were prodigious savers of family memorabilia of all types, the FDR Library at Hyde Park has in its archives the invoices for the 1910 campaign material used by FDR. The invoice from Bastian shows that 2500 buttons were ordered at a cost of \$25, a penny apiece!

Roosevelt's 1912 campaign for re-election to the state senate provided a great contrast to the 1910 effort, for instead of vigorously campaigning, he was bedridden with typhoid. He did have two assets, however, that he had not enjoyed in 1910. The first was his record in the New York Senate. That body's first order of business after FDR was sworn in was the election of a U. S. senator, still a function of state legislatures before 1912. When Tammany Hall proposed one William "Blue-eyed Billy" Sheehan, tainted by many unsavory connections, Roosevelt and several other reformist "young Turks" rebelled. They boycotted the legislative sessions to prevent a quorum until Tammany withdrew Sheehan's nomination. His replacement's credentials were not much better and the victory was a hollow one, but the episode did much to boost FDR's image among his constituents as an enemy of bossism and a battler in the mold of "Cousin Teddy."

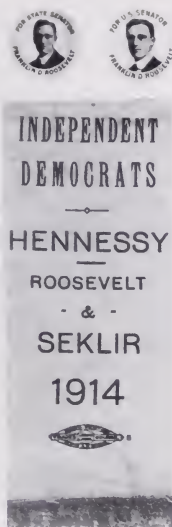
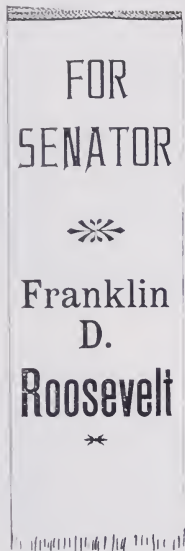
FDR's second great asset in 1912 was Louis McHenry Howe, who ran the campaign in Roosevelt's absence. An Albany reporter who became very impressed with FDR dur-



FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Candidate for Senator

His record shows he fought for every measure asked by the farmers and the working man



ing the Sheehan fight, Howe remained Roosevelt's closest aide until he died in 1935 and was probably more responsible than any other man for FDR's rise to the presidency. In 1912 Howe orchestrated such an active campaign that the candidate's absence seemed to make little difference. In many newspaper ads he focused on issues of importance to Hudson River Valley farmers, such as the profits of commission merchants—the "middlemen" between growers and the markets—and the standardization of the size of apple barrels. Because of the Sheehan fight, Howe could use such slogans as "When Franklin Roosevelt says he will fight for a



thing, it means he won't quit until he wins—you know that." Howe also sent out mass mailings to the constituents, and his style foreshadowed that of today's mass mailings. Each letter appeared to have been individually typed and signed by FDR, requested the recipient's views on issues, and included a self-addressed stamped envelope for the reply. A flood of responses came back. The FDR-Howe team proved successful, as Roosevelt won re-election with 15,590 votes to 13,889 for Republican Jacob Southard and 2,628 for Progressive George A. Vossler.

The buttons and posters made for the 1910 campaign were probably used again in 1912. Only one known item can be attributed definitely to 1912, a 19" by 12½" poster insisting "he fought for every measure asked by the farmers and the working man." This poster was unknown to collectors until 1979, when the FDR Library traded a small quantity for other FDR posters it needed.

After serving only a few months of his second term in Albany, Roosevelt was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Navy in March, 1913. Howe accompanied him to Washington, a move that would lead seven years later to his nomination for the vice presidency of the United States. Before this overwhelming defeat, however, FDR suffered another. In 1914 New York held its first popular election for a seat in the U. S. Senate, with party nominees selected in a September 28, 1914, primary. Many anti-Tammany Democrats, hoping that the wave of reform sentiment sweeping the nation would enable them to capture both the governorship and the Senate seat, urged FDR to seek the Democratic Senate nomination. With Howe away on vacation, Roosevelt abruptly declared his candidacy on August 13, just six weeks from the primary. A long shot at best, his candidacy was doomed by several factors. Fatigued from his work in Washington, FDR spent the remainder of August and part of September resting at Campobello instead of actively campaigning. He was allied with anti-Tammany gubernatorial candidate John A. Hennessy, who was a terrible campaigner. But it was FDR's old enemies at Tammany Hall who really wrecked his candidacy. Aware that to win Roosevelt would have to cast himself as the Wilsonian candidate, Tammany came up with James W. Gerard, recently appointed by Wilson to the German ambassadorship! This effectively precluded Roosevelt from donning the Wilsonian mantle. Given the great sensitivity of Gerard's diplomatic position on the brink of World War I, he was able to run an ambassadorial equivalent of a "Rose Garden campaign" and swamp FDR in a 210,765-76,888 landslide before losing by a huge margin in November to Republican incumbent James Wadsworth.

There are two known FDR items attributable to 1914, one rather common and the other quite scarce. A black and white 7/8" celluloid button made by Whitehead & Hoag that

FARMERS! ATTENTION!

The Time to Put a STOP to THE ROBBERIES of Dishonest Commission Merchants is NOW!

*There is much evidence to show that commission men and brokers in farm products delay settlements with farmers, report settlements in bad condition without great or exact, that goods are damaged in transit, sell to others before they are sold to consumers, etc. *COLUMBIA TO BE SEEN THESE ALLEGED MISFEASANTS IN SEATTLE. - Extract from page 4 of Report of the New York State Food Investigating Commission, Aug. 1, 1915.

I pledge myself if re-elected to introduce and fight for the passage of a law carrying out this recommendation of the Commission. A law that will mean business and wipe out the dishonest commission men.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, candidate for State Senator.

When Frank Roosevelt says he will fight for a thing, it means he won't quit until he wins—you know that.

EXTRA! EXTRA! 9PM. BOX SCORE EXTRA

The Daily News

ROOSEVELT NAMED AS DEM VICE-PRES.

Big Celebration For Cox; Then Comes Quiet



BOX SCORE



COX AND ROOSEVELT

INDIANA

Peace! Progress! Prosperity!
THE
DEMOCRATIC TEXT BOOK
1920



Franklin D. Roosevelt
Issued by
The Democratic National Committee
The Democratic Congressional Committee

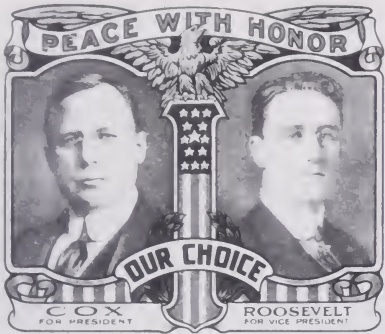
WILBUR W. MARSH
TREASURER

Democrat National Committee
GRAND CENTRAL PALACE
NEW YORK

Received of *Wm. J. Jamieson*
the sum of *Five* \$ *5.00*
IN CONTRIBUTION TO THE FUND TO PAY THE NECESSARY EXPENSES OF THE CAMPAIGN
IN BEHALF OF THE ELECTION OF JAMES M. COX AS PRESIDENT AND
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT AS VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
THE PURPOSE OF THE MANAGERS BEING TO FINANCE THE CAMPAIGN BY POPULAR
SUBSCRIPTIONS

Wm. J. Jamieson
Director of Finance

Keep Faith With
our Sons
Bring America into
The League of Nations
Vote For
Cox and Roosevelt



DECAL



PEACE - PROGRESS - PROSPERITY



FOR PRESIDENT
DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE
JAMES M. COX



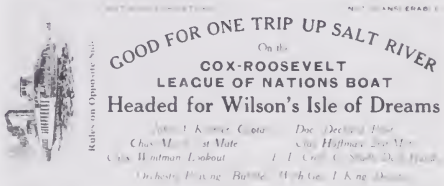
FOR VICE PRESIDENT
DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

POSTER



FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE
VICE PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES

INK BLOTTER



TICKET

Veterans Cox-Roosevelt Clubs



POSTER

Then Election Means Peace, Progress and Prosperity



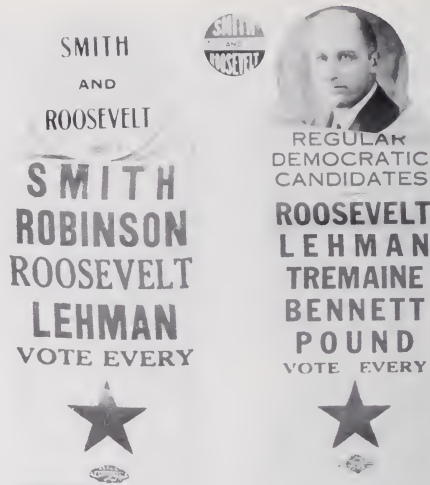
POSTER

read "FOR U. S. SENATOR FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT" was reportedly a great rarity until a collector discovered a quantity some years ago in Poughkeepsie. An "INDEPENDENT DEMOCRATS HENNESSY ROOSEVELT & SEKLIR 1914" ribbon surfaced (the first specimen known to collectors) two years ago in an auction and brought \$204.

In 1920 Roosevelt was apparently James Cox' first choice for a running mate, for he had a famous name, came from a state enormously important for Democratic chances of victory, and brought geographic balance to the ticket. Most important, he was a young, bright, vigorous man who symbolized a renewed Democratic party, providing an excellent contrast to the dull personalities of Warren Harding and Calvin Coolidge. Unlike his 1914 effort, FDR campaigned strenuously in 1920, traveling to all parts of the nation except the South. Reports of his performance were extremely favorable and his speaking style was (for the first time in his public career) the subject of much praise. Thus, despite the overwhelming defeat suffered by the Cox-Roosevelt ticket, the 1920 campaign furthered FDR's career by establishing a national presence and by permitting him to meet party leaders from coast to coast.

His 1920 campaign correspondence at Hyde Park contains some interesting information on the items produced for the Cox-Roosevelt effort. It is clear that because of a serious shortage of campaign funds the demand for material far outstripped the supply. Many letters to FDR from local Democratic committees complained of shortages of items and replies after the middle of October routinely stated that supplies at the main headquarters in New York were exhausted. In a September 22 letter to Roy Godsey, head of the Democratic National Committee's publicity bureau, FDR wrote:

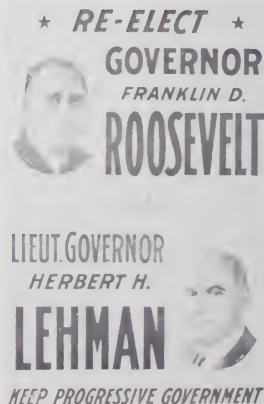
Starting with New Jersey on Wednesday, we are headed out on a long Western trip, and I am throwing myself on your mercy. It is imperative we have plenty of literature for this trip—a package at least of everything you have . . . We need thousands of buttons—not those damn "Coxsure buttons"—but both the other two kinds. This is one of the best ways in the World to get them to individuals, and I wish you would give us a plentiful supply, as they cry for them everywhere we go.



His reference to "the other two kinds" was probably to the two small lithographed Cox-Roosevelt name buttons that were the staple of the campaign.

Two letters in the Hyde Park archives from the St. Louis Button Company are of interest to collectors, not only because they led to two sizes of the "St. Louis design" Cox-FDR jugate, but also because the letters show the relationship between candidates and manufacturers at that time. On July 19, shortly after Roosevelt's nomination, St. Louis Button wrote to him as follows:

As one of the leading concerns in America specializing in the manufacture of campaign buttons, we will have a large demand this year for buttons bearing the portraits of you and Governor Cox and we find that our files do not include a picture of you, one which will reproduce to the best advantage for campaign button purposes. Will you kindly supply us with a picture?



The letter went on to promise that FDR would be sent "some of the buttons we manufacture of the design." When the company had not received the picture by July 31, it sent this reminder:

Recently we asked you for your photograph which we can use on campaign buttons. We have on hand orders for thousands of these buttons and cannot fill them until we have your picture. Governor Cox has supplied us with his picture, also Senator Harding and Governor Coolidge, and we are badly in need of your picture to be used on buttons to show portraits of the candidates for President and Vice President on the Democratic Ticket. Your prompt attention to this request will be very much appreciated.

The photograph was sent on August 4. If the company sent the promised samples to FDR, it is not known what became of them, for the FDR Library has no Cox-Roosevelt jugates in its collection.

Another set of letters relates to an unusual project of a group called the National Forum, the issuance of a set of phonograph records containing speeches given by a major party candidate or party spokesman. Each had the speaker's photograph on the label. FDR recorded excerpts from the address he had given at his notification ceremonies. This is the earliest known recording of his voice in existence. A September 10 letter to FDR from the National Forum's director said, "The fine resonance of your voice is quite noticeable in the records. Under our system of distribution some four or five thousand dealers all over the country will have sample copies of the record within a few days. Free demonstrations will be offered to Democratic clubs, county chairmen, etc."

Aside from the Cox-Roosevelt jugates, probably the key 1920 FDR piece for collectors is the 1¼" celluloid button

featuring a black and white portrait of Roosevelt and the caption "FOR VICE PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT." Like the 1912 state senate poster, this button was practically unknown in the hobby until the FDR Library revealed in 1975 that it had a small quantity for trade, leading to about two dozen entering private collections. The button is a mystery of sorts, for nothing is known as to its manufacture, purpose, or how the FDR Library came to have a number of them. It may have been made as part of a set, for nearly identical pieces exist for Cox, Harding, and Coolidge. Other "Roosevelt only" 1920 items include a poster with a black and white photo and no writing that matches Cox, Harding, and Coolidge varieties, an ink blotter picturing the V.P. candidate, and a 4" button picturing the "Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt."

The following eight years formed a remarkable chapter in Roosevelt's life, for he lost the use of his legs to polio, chose to re-enter politics despite his disability, did so with an electrifying and courageous speech nominating Al Smith at the 1924 Democratic convention, and emerged as one of the most popular Democratic political figures in New York and the nation. His election as New York governor in 1928 was a true milestone in his career, for it placed him on the national stage and automatically made him a major contender for the 1932 Democratic presidential nomination.

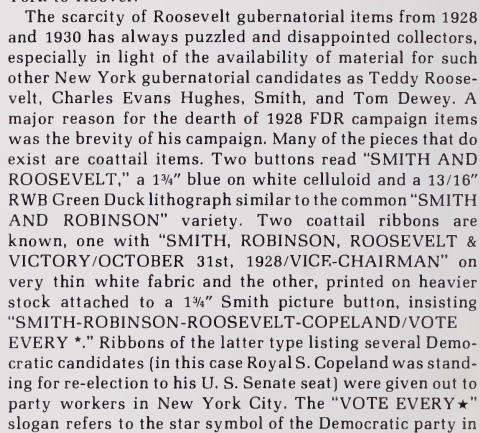
A key figure in the advancement of FDR's career during this period was Al Smith, a relationship with many ironies. While Roosevelt's early career had been built on a posture of anti-Tammany bossism, he was now aligned with the most successful son of Tammany. Moreover, Smith clearly aided Roosevelt to further his own ambitions, becoming the benefactor of a man whose political and administrative ability the "Happy Warrior" held in rather low regard. In 1928 he wanted Roosevelt to run for governor because he knew that

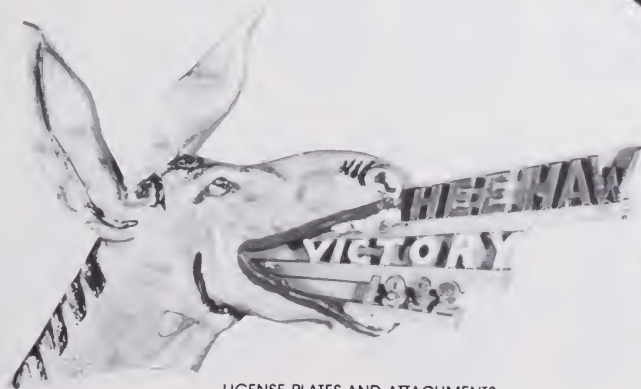
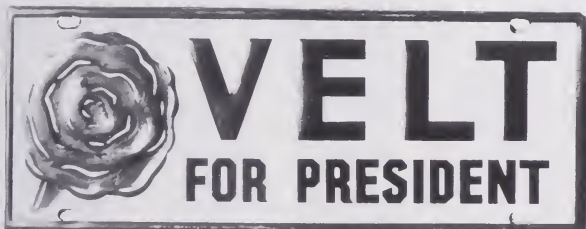
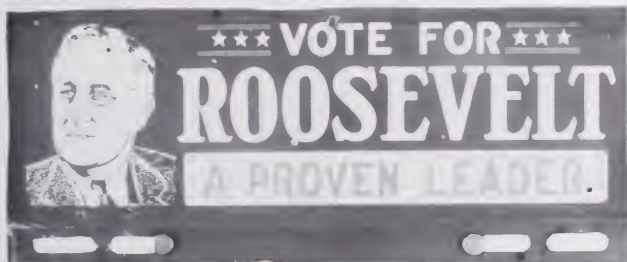


FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT
DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE FOR THE PRESIDENCY OF THE UNITED STATES



JOHN NANCE SMITH
DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE FOR THE VICE PRESIDENCY OF THE UNITED STATES





LICENSE PLATES AND ATTACHMENTS



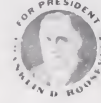
CAR
PERMIT



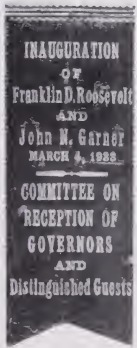
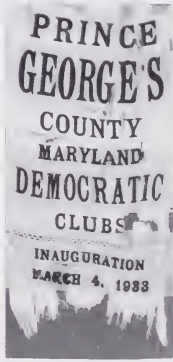
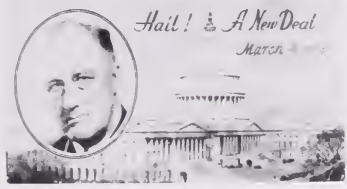
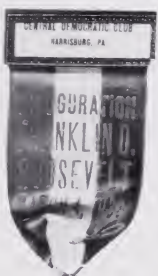
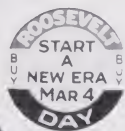
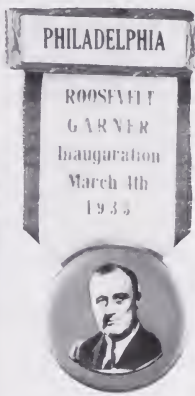
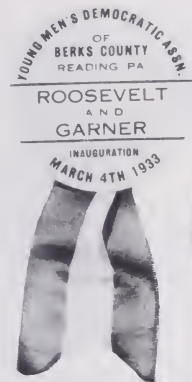
Franklin D.
Roosevelt
Home Club



FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT



"HAPPY DAYS ARE HERE AGAIN" — MARCH 4, 1933





New York that appeared beside the name of every Democrat on the ballot.

A paper poster was also issued bearing a sepia photo of FDR and the words "FOR GOVERNOR FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT/KEEP GOOD GOVERNMENT," a link with the Smith legacy. The poster is similar to the matching "HONEST-ABLE-FEARLESS" posters issued for Smith and Robinson by the same printer, the M. B. Brown Company. The same likeness of FDR also appeared on four known varieties of buttons that may have been used in 1928, although there is no way to tell for certain. Two of these are 1 1/4" celluloids with RWB star and bar borders, almost identical except that one has a sepia photo and the other a black and white one. The third is a 1 1/4" celluloid with black and white photo and no border. This variety is also known in a 1 3/4" size.

Roosevelt's 1930 re-election campaign was in a sense a preview of 1932, for the issue was the same—Republican Herbert Hoover and the sheer inability of his administration to deal with the depression. Like other Democrats across the country, FDR was assured of success because of this issue. But the New York Republicans, unwilling to give Roosevelt a "free ride," mounted a spirited campaign against Tammany corruption (as revelations of Tammany scandal were becoming epidemic) and nominated to oppose FDR Charles H. Tuttle, a U. S. attorney in New York prominent in Tammany prosecutions. This posed a dilemma for FDR, who had begun his public career as an anti-Tammany crusader but

had later accepted Tammany support and now realized its value (both in 1930 and in a future presidential bid). He thus did little to push the issue, but it was dwarfed by the economic crisis and did him no real harm. He was also aided by the Prohibitionist decision to reject Tuttle in favor of their own candidate, Robert P. Carroll. In contrast to his 1928 squeaker, Roosevelt waltzed to victory with 56.1% of the vote to 33.1% for Tuttle and 10.8% for Carroll and other splinter candidates.

Only four types of buttons can be attributed for sure to the 1930 campaign. It may seem strange that the brief 1928 effort might well have inspired more varieties of buttons than the well organized and well financed 1930 race, but some varieties featuring only FDR's name and/or photo may have been deliberately vague to allow their use in the 1932 bid for the Democratic presidential nomination. Thus almost certainly there was at least one button produced in quantity for 1930, but no one has yet been able to identify it definitely.

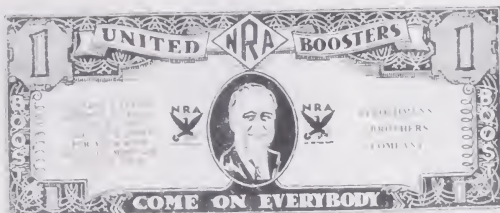
Of the four buttons that can be attributed to 1930, two are buttons with 1930 Democratic ticket ribbons. One is a 1 1/4" celluloid with a young FDR photo in sepia and the entire Democratic state ticket listed on the ribbon (Herbert Lehman for lieutenant governor, Morris Tremain for comptroller, Jon Bennett for attorney general, and Cuthbert Pound for associate justice of the New York Court of Appeals). A similar ribbon, suspended from a button showing only a blue star, listed only FDR, Lehman, and 13th District congressional candidate Christopher Sullivan. The third 1930 FDR item features the 1 1/4" photo button with a different ribbon, this one having "FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT HOME CLUB" embossed in gold on blue. The Home Club was an organization of FDR supporters from the Hyde Park area founded in 1929 that remained active even after his death, although it apparently issued only this badge and a 1932 ribbon. Finally, a 7/8" celluloid RWB "ROOSEVELT AND LEHMAN" name button seems (by style of manufacture) to have been a 1930 button. FDR-Lehman items are very difficult to date, for in addition to the gubernatorial campaigns they also shared the ballot in 1932 and again in 1936.

The striking Roosevelt-Lehman poster from 1930 pictured here is from the collection of the FDR Library. In a touch of





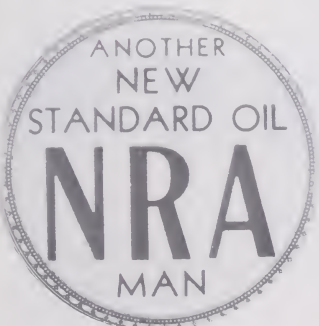
WINDOW STICKER



METAL CLOCK



PENNANT



CLOTH RIBBON





NEW
DEAL
ELECTION
COMMITTEE



FRANKLIN
DELANO
ROOSEVELT



FRANKLIN
DELANO
ROOSEVELT



ROOSEVELT
RECEPTION

MEMBER
OF THE
PRESIDENT'S
GROUP



GRAND COULEE DAM

1000 ft. x 100 ft. New
Empire West

Aug. 4, 1934

TAMMANY

FOR PRESIDENT

UNION
COUNTY
ROOSEVELT
DAY

SEA GIRT, N. J.
Aug. 27, 1932

NEW YORK



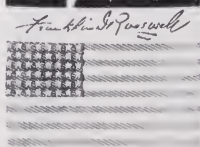
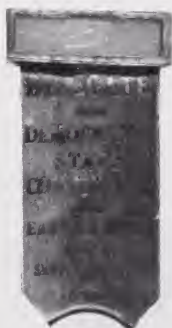
WE NEED YOU
FOR
FREE
HUMANITY
ROOSEVELT
AND
WALLACE



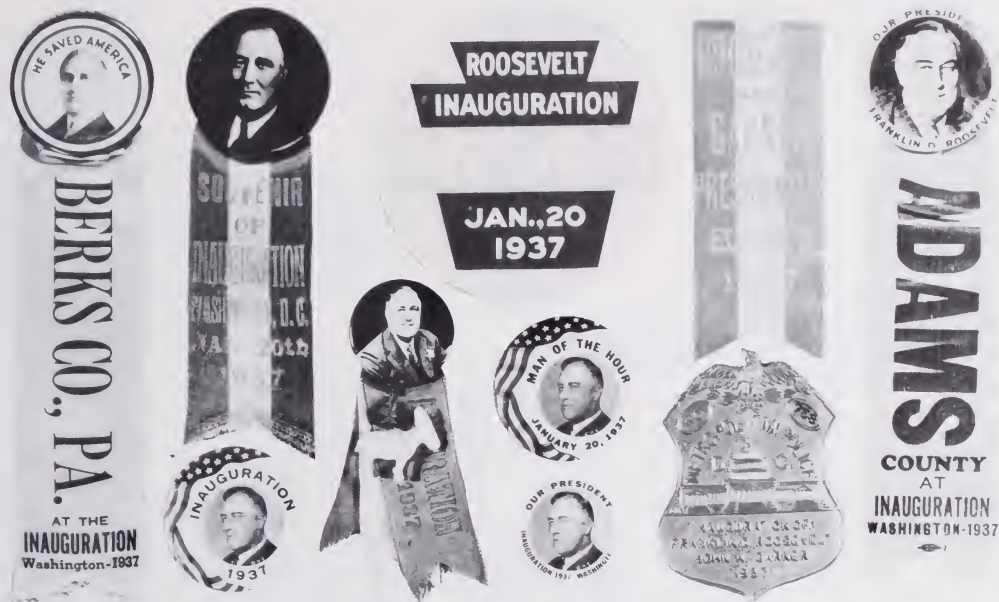
CLOTH BUTTON
(ENLARGED)



NATIONAL
DEMOCRATIC
CONVENTION
1934



"HE SAVED AMERICA" — JANUARY 20, 1937



organization undoubtedly inspired by Louis Howe, each of the 1930 paper items including this poster was assigned a number. A "RE-ELECT GOVERNOR FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT/KEEP PROGRESSIVE GOVERNMENT" single picture poster was also made. To my knowledge, the only known specimen in collector hands recently appeared in a David Frent auction.

"The Friends of Frank. n Roosevelt" was the name chosen for FDR's 1932 presidential campaign organization that began operations in early 1931. Whether or not it was realized at the time, the name was a particularly appropriate one. Such was the warmth and sincerity that many saw in the man that they came to view themselves not merely as Roosevelt voters or Roosevelt supporters, but truly as friends of FDR. This would become especially true after he became president and began reaching out to the people through his "fireside chats," but the name was appropriate in the context of the 1932 campaign as well, for it highlighted the vast difference in the feelings that voters entertained for the two major candidates, the stern and now morose Hoover and the jaunty, bouyant FDR. By 1932 anger and despair over the failure of the Hoover administration to halt the depression or at least alleviate the suffering was so great that a Roosevelt victory was virtually assured. Taking advantage of the national mood, he pounded away at Hoover's failure without offering specific proposals, conveying confidence and compassion and the pledge, in short, that he would be a friend to those in need.

Quite appropriately, buttons using the "FRIENDS OF FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT" slogan were the most widely circulated during the 1932 campaign. At least six varieties exist, lithographs with facing pictures by Green Duck and Bastian, a lithograph with a profile picture by Geraghty,

and Bastian, Whitehead & Hoag, and N. Stafford (New York) celluloid buttons with profile pictures. Campaign records indicate that nearly nine million of the Bastian lithographs were manufactured alone. Another button that reflects this general campaign theme is the 7/8" celluloid Roosevelt-Garner jugate with the legend "RETURN OUR COUNTRY TO THE PEOPLE." Echoing this sentiment was a jugate stamp insisting "GIVE AMERICA BACK TO THE PEOPLE!" These slogans paraphrased Roosevelt's stirring "call to arms" in the closing line of his acceptance of the Democratic nomination, "Give me your help, not to win votes alone, but to win in this crusade to restore America to its own people."

This speech, famous primarily because of his memorable pledge to bring about "a new deal for the American people" that gave the phrase "New Deal" its introduction to our language, dramatized the theme of change not only in words but in the context in which they were spoken. This was the first time that a major party nominee appeared before the convention to accept his nomination rather than awaiting a notification ceremony weeks later. As Roosevelt expressed it, "I have started by breaking the absurd tradition that the candidate should remain in professed ignorance of what has happened . . . Let it be symbolic that in so doing I broke traditions. Let it be from now on the task of our party to break foolish traditions."

A unique feature of FDR's 1932 campaign was the extent to which campaign groups engaged in the sale of buttons and other trinkets. Many items were sold by special groups organized to reach beyond the Democratic party apparatus in seeking votes. While these sales raised some money for the campaign, fundraising was probably a secondary purpose to giving purchasers a real sense of participation in the



REGULAR
DEMOCRATIC
CANDIDATES

**ROOSEVELT
LEHMAN
SULLIVAN**
VOTE EVERY

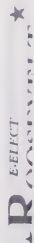


**Ox-Roast
AND
Victory
Parade
Pine Grove
Nov. 25, '36**



**"LET'S GO"
WITH ROOSEVELT**
Presented by
OAK CITY LAUNDRY
OLDEST AND BEST SINCE 1880
LINENS WHITE AND COLORS BRIGHT



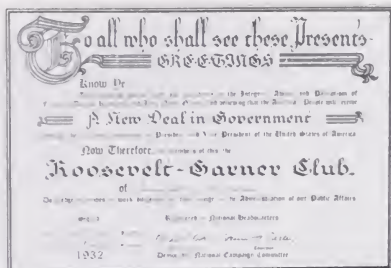


Probably the most unusual of the special campaign groups was the Roosevelt Motor Club. An article in the

A large collection of various political campaign buttons and stickers, many featuring portraits of Franklin D. Roosevelt and text such as "LABOR", "ROOSEVELT", "FURRIERS FOR ROOSEVELT", "VOTE", "DEMOCRATIC", and "LABOR VOLUNTEERS FOR VICTORY". The items are arranged in a grid-like fashion, showcasing a wide variety of labor union and political affiliations from the 1930s and 1940s. Notable items include a large "LABOR COMMITTEE" button from Philadelphia, a "VOTE STRAIGHT DEMOCRATIC" button, and numerous smaller buttons for specific groups like "FURRIERS FOR ROOSEVELT", "LABOR VOLUNTEERS FOR VICTORY", and "LABOR'S FRIEND".

September 17, 1932, *New York Times* described its purpose as "to send out forty thousand attractive young women to enlist motorists from coast to coast as active supporters of the Democratic nominee." While some of us might deplore such chauvinism, no collector would object to the club policy that provided that "membership carries with it a bronze medallion of Governor Roosevelt and the phrase 'Victory 1932.'" The item, made to be fastened to car radiators, is five inches in diameter. According to the *Times* story, the club hoped to distribute a million of these medallions (through memberships or sale for a dollar each), but considering the scarcity of the item today, they almost certainly fell short of their goal.

Another group of items is interesting because it calls to mind one of the most fascinating politicians in American history, James M. Curley, and because it represents an important phase of the 1932 Roosevelt campaign to which few items can be directly attributed—his effort during the primaries and at the Democratic convention. At least six different buttons were ordered by Curley, the FDR-Curley "ECONOMIC SECURITY" jugate, two different "AMERICA CALLS ANOTHER ROOSEVELT" name buttons, a "GROUP 1 DELEGATES" name button, a 2¼" black and white celluloid FDR picture button, and the oval "VICTORY PARADE" FDR-Curley jugate. Another FDR-Curley jugate (identical to "ECONOMIC SECURITY" except the slogan is "WORK & WAGES") was most likely used in Curley's 1934 campaign for the Massachusetts governorship, for that was



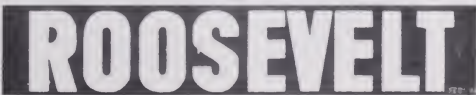
his slogan during that effort. Another button, proclaiming "CURLEY STANDS WITH ROOSEVELT," may have been issued in 1932, 1934, or during Curley's Senate campaign in 1936.

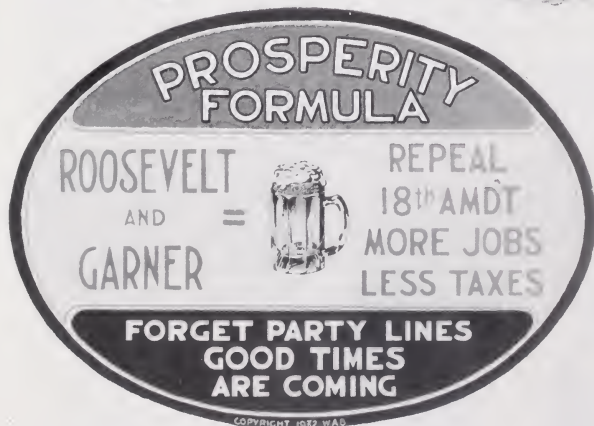
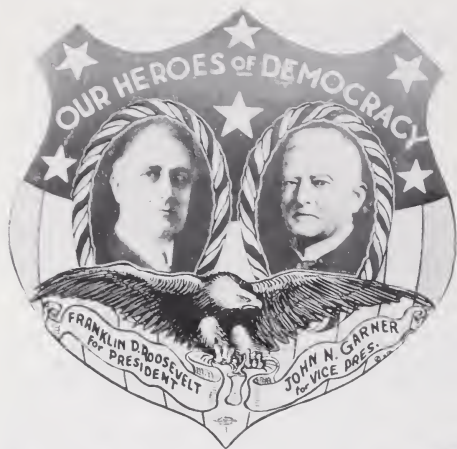
The most interesting of these buttons is the "ECONOMIC SECURITY" jugate, often referred to as the button which FDR ordered withdrawn from circulation or simply the "forbidden button." Curley, mayor of Boston at the time, endorsed FDR early in the campaign and soon thereafter issued the jugate. Curley was not on the ballot in 1932 for anything but convention delegate on the FDR slate in the Massachusetts primary and so, although the button appears to have been an ordinary coat-tail item, it was instead a rather bizarre presidential primary button. FDR did indeed order the buttons withdrawn. In his autobiography, Curley explained, "Our Roosevelt-Curley campaign buttons were never distributed as they gave the impression that I intended to be FDR's running-mate." The "GROUP 1 DELEGATES" button was probably substituted for them during the primary.

As the jugate indicated, Curley was something of a button fanatic. A small article on the front page of the *New York Times* on January 27, 1932, reported that Curley had mailed out eight hundred buttons across the country featuring the slogan "America Again Calls a Roosevelt—Franklin D." This button was almost certainly one reading "AMERICA CALLS ANOTHER ROOSEVELT—FRANKLIN D.," for many of these have paper labels on the backs stating "Compliments of James M. Curley." Other buttons with similar labels are the other "America Calls . . ." and the 2¼" FDR picture button, a few of which came attached to gold pin-back hangers with flag ribbons to create extremely attractive badges.

Roosevelt came to regret accepting Curley's assistance in the Massachusetts primary. Although FDR tried to prevent him from taking charge of the campaign, the irrepressible Curley did so anyway. As a result, all of his many enemies in Bay State politics teamed up in support of Al Smith, who trounced Roosevelt in the primary 73% to 27%. Despite his defeat in the delegate contest, Curley attended the national convention and wound up serving as a delegate from Puerto Rico! FDR was certainly in no position to be too squeamish about the legitimacy of all of his delegates, for—in spite of the fact that he won many primaries and state conventions and had a clear majority of the national delegates—reaching the magic two thirds required to win the nomination was a very delicate operation.

About the only items that can be traced definitely to the 1932 convention are blue and white state delegation ribbons







PRESIDENT
ROOSEVELT

MASSACHUSETTS

TOUR

1936

MASS MEETING
FRANKLIN D.
ROOSEVELT
FIFTH REGIMENT
ARMORY
OCT 25, 1932

USHER

We Want
R
R
O
S
E
V
E
L
T

SAFEGUARD
LABOR
and
SOCIAL
LEGISLATION

Amalgamated
Clothing Workers
of America

RECEPTION
TO OUR
PRESIDENT

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT



BE A
DEMOCRAT
SUPPORT
ROOSEVELT



VOTE
(X) Democratic

ROOSEVELT

SPEAKER'S
ROSTRUM

Labor For

ROOSEVELT

Chicago Stadium
Oct. 25th



ROOSEVELT





ROOSEVELT
MIDDLESEX
GARNER

AT
SEA GIRL
AUGUST 27,
1932

HOLLYWOOD
JOINS
ROOSEVELT
AND
WILLKIE
FOR
NATIONAL
UNITY

with "WE WANT ROOSEVELT" vertically in gold letters and an attractive 1 1/4" RWB "ROOSEVELT" picture button (often attached to the aforementioned ribbons). The FDR-Curley "VICTORY PARADE" oval jugate was produced for a post-convention celebration Curley staged for himself upon his return to Boston.

Many 1932 FDR items make reference either to the Great Depression or to the one issue on which he did take a firm stand during the campaign, the repeal of prohibition. Two very desirable FDR-Garner jugate buttons refer to both with the slogan "FOR REPEAL AND PROSPERITY." A wooden coattail item from Michigan, probably intended for use as a light-pull, featured an obverse beer keg design and the inscription "VOTE FOR ROOSEVELT AND REPEAL" and a reverse reading "PROTECT MICHIGAN INVESTORS-/VOTE FOR COMSTOCK." Among the buttons referring to the Depression are several donkey designs with the motto "KICK OUT DEPRESSION WITH A DEMOCRATIC VOTE" (a pennant-shaped sticker featuring the same kicking donkey and slogan advised "PUT A KICK IN YOUR BEER WITH A KICK LIKE THIS") and word buttons with such inscriptions as "ROOSEVELT/CONDITIONS DEMAND HIM," "OUT OF THE RED WITH ROOSEVELT," and "ROOSEVELT OR RUIN," the latter slogan one used by radio preacher Father Coughlin that year, the only campaign in which he supported FDR. Among the repeal items are a "FOR ROOSEVELT AND REPEAL" button and tab, a "ROOSEVELT/FOR REPEAL/STEWART" coattail pin from New Jersey, and two "ROOSEVELT/REGAN/REPEAL" buttons from Minnesota. Probably the most desirable repeal item is a license plate with FDR and Garner in ovals and between them a large mug of beer. Also repeal-related are ribbons from the Sea Girl, New Jersey, rally on August 27, 1932, where FDR delivered an address that put him firmly on record in favor of repeal.

Another aspect of the campaign is illustrated by a pair of window stickers intended for automobiles that read "THIS FORD VOTES FOR ROOSEVELT" and "Here's a FORD THAT'S NOT for HOOVER!" Auto magnate Henry Ford was a fervent Hoover supporter, even to the extent of plac-

LIBERAL
PARTY

FRANKLIN
HELPER



ROOSEVELT

ROOSEVELT
FOR
PRESIDENT

FOR
ROOSEVELT
PRESIDENT

VOTE
ROOSEVELT
for PRESIDENT



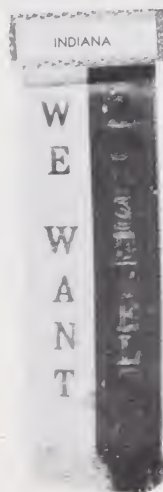
VOTE
ROW F



ROOSEVELT

VOTE
ROOSEVELT

FOR
ROOSEVELT
PRESIDENT



★
VOTE
ROOSEVELT
AND ALL
DEMOCRATIC
CANDIDATES
ROW B

ROOSEVELT
AND
GARNER
ROOSEVELT
INDEPENDENT
COMMITTEE

★
F
D
R
VOTE
ROW B



I'LL
BET MY
B. V. D.
ON
F. D. R.

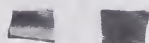
BETTER
A
THIRD TERMER
THAN A
THIRD RATER

3
FDR

A PAUPER
FOR
ROOSEVELT

ROOSEVELT

3
IS A
LUCKY
NUMBER



BETTER A
THIRD TERMER
THAN A THIRD
RATER

Confucius
Say.....
ONE TIME - GOOD
TWO TIME - GOOD
THREE TIME -
GAMN GOOD

NO SURVIVAL
EXPERIENCE
Re-elect
ROOSEVELT

3rd

3rd

3



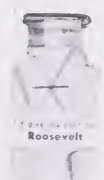
A THIRD TERM
is BETTER
than a THIRD
RATER

TWO GOOD TERMS
DESERVE
ANOTHER

TWO
GOOD TERMS
DESERVE
ANOTHER

THIRD
TERM TABOO
23
SKIDOO

I Gotta Go
AND VOTE FOR
FDR



WE
MILLIONAIRES
WANT
WILLKIE

CONFIDENTIALLY
I'M
VOTING
FOR
ROOSEVELT

FRANKLIN
DESERVES
RE-ELECTION

KEEP
ROOSEVELT
IN
WHITEHOUSE
WILLKIE
IN
POWERHOUSE

IF
WILLKIE'S
IN
WHITEHOUSE
IT'S U.S. IN
POORHOUSE

WILLKIE
FOR PRESIDENT
OF
COMMONWEALTH
SOUTHERN

REPEAT WITH
ROOSEVELT
OR REPENT
WITH WILLKIE

TWO
GOOD TERMS
DESERVE
ANOTHER



November 5th
Weather Forecast
WILLKIE
GONE WITH
THE WIND

ALL FOR
CAN GET
From WILLKIE
IS BUTTONS

4th term

WHY
CHANGE
?

WATCH
WILLKIE
WILT

36 MILLION AMERICANS
CAN'T BE
WRONG

WILLKIE?
NO! NO!
1000 TIMES NO!

THREE
GOOD TERMS
DESERVES
ANOTHER

4

4
IN A ROW

ing posters in his plants with the rather ominous warning, "To prevent times from getting worse and to help them get better, President Hoover must be elected." An October 20, 1932, article in the New York Times explained that the "THIS FORD VOTES FOR ROOSEVELT" stickers were produced for Jerome T. Harriman, a circus agent who formed the Roosevelt Ford Owners Alliance and announced his plans to make a ten-day, one thousand-mile auto trip to distribute the 200,000 stickers he had printed. 250,000 of the "Here's a FORD THAT'S NOT for HOOVER!" stickers were produced for the national Democratic campaign committee.

Roosevelt's neighbors in the Dutchess County area were also active in issuing material, producing a ribbon for an outing held on October 8 and a "DUTCHESS CO. NEIGHBOR FOR ROOSEVELT" blue enamel pin.

His 1936 re-election campaign probably marked the pinnacle of Roosevelt's political career, for against a united Republican party and a substantial adversary he swept all

but two states and won 60.8% of the popular vote, a percentage not topped until Lyndon Johnson's 61.1% in 1964. This mandate was the first opportunity the voters had to express their judgement on his stewardship. Although the economy was not nearly back to normal and the New Deal had not provided everyone with a job, Roosevelt had given them an even more precious gift—hope. Once again most Americans believed that they and their federal government had some control over their destiny and that the nation was on the way to recovery from our gravest internal crisis since the Civil War. This new mood, the quite substantial improvement in material well-being, and public perception of Roosevelt as a confident, unshakeable man who seemed to genuinely care for people moved majorities in every state except Maine and Vermont. After 1936 would come the ill-advised plan to "pack" the Supreme Court, bitter arguments over neutrality, the third term issue, the steady drain on FDR's health, and diminishing majorities in 1940 and



1944. But in 1936 Roosevelt was at the peak of his power, probably more formidable than any American statesman before or since.

While he was promoted on campaign items in 1932 as our "friend," he was acknowledged on many 1936 items not only as our "leader," but often as "A Gallant Leader." Picture buttons employing this slogan are among the most common FDR 1936 items, appearing in many celluloid and lithograph varieties. The photograph of FDR used on these buttons was the one most widely used on official Democratic material in 1936, appearing on literature and several posters as well. This photo is generally an excellent way of identifying an FDR item as a 1936 piece, although there are exceptions, such as a 2 1/4" Roosevelt-Truman button from 1944.

Among the most interesting 1936 FDR buttons are those saluting his considerable first term achievements. Three very uncommon and desirable ones are the 3/4" "WE ROSE WITH ROOSEVELT" and the "HE SAVED A NATION" and "HE SAVED AMERICA" picture celluloids. Buttons expressing similar sentiments but much more available bear such messages as "HIS HEART IS WITH THE PEOPLE," "FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE," and "SWEEPING THE DEPRESSION OUT." The "WE PRAISE AMERICA-ROOSEVELT AGAIN" button, saluting the New Deal's

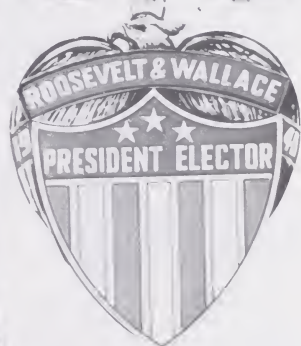
Works Progress Administration (WPA), is another desirable 1936 FDR item. Among the dissenters from this adulation of FDR was 1928 Democratic presidential nominee Al Smith, whom Roosevelt had twice placed in nomination. Alienated by the dramatic expansion of governmental activities under FDR (and almost certainly jealous of the success of a relative "upstart" he regarded as limited in ability), Smith had announced in a widely quoted speech that unless FDR abandoned deficit spending and declared his fealty to a balanced budget he would have to "take a walk" in the 1936 election. In response to this rank apostasy, a "ROOSEVELT ALLEGIANCE, I'M NOT TAKING A WALK" button was produced. Smith did indeed "take a walk," endorsed Alf Landon, and in 1940 endorsed Wendell Willkie against FDR.

Of all elements in FDR's New Deal coalition—ethnic minorities, middle class liberals and intellectuals, the "Solid South," western farmers, and labor—we collectors can certainly concur with Arthur Schlesinger's assessment in *The Politics of Upheaval* that labor was the most powerful of these blocs. Although it is difficult for most of us to imagine a presidential election without the participation of organized labor, it was not until 1936 that labor really made its debut in presidential politics, when unions spent an estimated \$1,750,000 helping to re-elect Roosevelt. This dramatic debut was largely engineered by John L. Lewis, mercurial head of the United Mine Workers. Impatient with the reluctance of the American Federation of Labor to organize the bulk of American industrial workers, Lewis developed quickly into the leading spokesman for a broader based concept of industrial unionism. Along with the leaders of six other AFL unions, in October, 1935, Lewis created the Committee on Industrial Organization to promote unionism among the unorganized workers in such industries as

"BETTER A THIRD TERMER . . ." — JANUARY 20, 1941



MONTGOMERY
COUNTY
PENNSYLVANIA



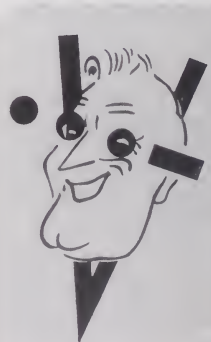
PHILADELPHIA
EVENING
BULLETIN
WASHINGTON
INAUGURAL TRIP
JANUARY 20, 1941
REGULAR
CARRIER



automobiles and steel. Ostensibly, this was to be done within the Federation, but when the AFL voted to oust the CIO unions in August, 1936, the new independent Congress of Industrial Organizations was born. Three months earlier, Lewis and his cohorts had formed the political action group Labor's Non-Partisan League, which now became the political arm of the CIO.

Lewis and the CIO believed that Roosevelt had to be re-elected if labor's recent gains—most notably the Wagner Act (1935) establishing the National Labor Relations Board—were to be preserved and expanded. In 1936 the LNPL organized an extraordinary FDR support effort to the tune of nearly a million dollars for radio ads, leaflets, rallies (more than a hundred in Chicago alone), and other activities. In New York, where many supporters of FDR and Governor Lehman could not stomach the Tammany-oriented Democratic party, the LNPL formed its own party, the American Labor party.

In 1936 the LNPL used buttons extensively. A 1¼" Roosevelt picture celluloid was its standard national button, but state organizations issuing their own buttons included Illinois, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and Utah. In New York the American Labor party issued at least four different FDR buttons. In addition to these buttons were those produced for individual unions, including the International Longshoreman's Association, Laundry Drivers, Furriers, and Railroad Brotherhood. Among the United Mine Workers buttons issued were a standard lithograph used extensively, a rare picture celluloid distributed by UMW Local 473 in Sagamore, Pennsylvania, and the attractive and very





desirable "Mitchell Day" celluloid trigate picturing FDR, Lewis, and Pennsylvania Governor George Earle. Mitchell Day is an office holiday for miners (written into UMW contracts) on which UMW officials lay a wreath on a monument in Scranton, Pennsylvania, honoring John Mitchell, UMW president during the turn-of-the-century struggles for survival, who is considered virtually the patron saint of the union.

Many buttons were also issued by various organizations that either supported FDR or were formed expressly to help his candidacy. As in 1932, a network of Roosevelt-Garner Clubs was formed and issued both a set of $\frac{7}{8}$ " state celluloid buttons and enamel pins with a similar design. Both exist for a large number of states, but the exact number issued remains a mystery, for no collector has come close to obtaining forty-eight different of either the celluloid or the enamel varieties. The National Women's Pro-Roosevelt League issued a $1\frac{1}{4}$ " name celluloid and its Essex County, New Jersey, affiliate created a $\frac{7}{8}$ " celluloid picture button with FDR in a red heart. One major activity of the league was sponsorship of a contest to choose a campaign slogan, with a first prize of a nine-day cruise to Havana. Of the more than ten thousand entries submitted, the wife of an unemployed New York chauffeur was the winner with "FDR, Our Guiding Star." Other buttons issued by groups included a pair of large and attractive picture celluloids by veterans, Young Democrats items from Tennessee, Wake County, North Carolina, and Cook County, Illinois, two items by the Cleveland New Deal Organization, a "bandwagon" button by the Michigan Democratic State Committee, and buttons by the Republican Re-elect Roosevelt Club and the Roosevelt Agricultural Committee (the latter two groups probably national organizations). An item that remains a mystery is the "DANTE LEAGUE FOR ROOSEVELT" picture lithograph, either issued by an Italian political and social club by that name or possibly a campaign organization of authors and artists grateful to FDR for WPA sponsorship of many projects.

Although Roosevelt was almost certainly planning his retirement from public office, the outbreak of war in Europe in 1939 prompted him to seek an unprecedented third term in the White House. Deeply alarmed by the threat posed by the Nazi and Japanese aggression and doubtful that a successor, Democratic or Republican, could delicately upgrade our military forces and aid the British while maintaining a public stance of neutrality, FDR kept silent during the long pre-convention period and let a draft movement on his behalf develop. This activity produced FDR draft buttons from Pennsylvania and Oklahoma and the little celluloid "RALLY ROUND ROOSEVELT" button issued by a group sponsoring a letter writing campaign to FDR to urge him to seek another term.

Organized labor issued more buttons for FDR in 1940 than it had in 1936, although the LNPL, the most prolific source of Roosevelt labor items in 1936, created few buttons four years later. This situation was caused by the bitter feud between FDR and John L. Lewis that prompted the UMW leader to repudiate the President and ask each LNPL state organization to remain neutral during the campaign. One state LNPL group that rejected this course of action was New Jersey, an organization that produced as many as four FDR buttons in 1940. The American Labor party of New York, created in 1936 through the efforts of the League, distributed a pair of lithograph picture buttons in 1940.

THE INAUGURAL MEDALS



1933



1937



1941



1945



With these exceptions, the awesome machinery of the LNPL sat idle, with the bitter Lewis able to deny FDR its help but not coerce support for Willkie or any other Republican candidate. Lewis endorsed Willkie in October, but made it clear that this was a personal endorsement only. Many CIO unions were already working for Roosevelt's re-election on their own, so all that Lewis was able to deny FDR was an umbrella national organization like the LNPL had been in 1936 (or the CIO's Political Action Committee PAC would become in 1944).

Among the unions issuing buttons for Roosevelt in 1940 were the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the United Auto Workers, the Teamsters, and the Millinery Workers. Two ILGWU locals also issued their own buttons, with the "DON'T CHANGE THE PILOT" design of FDR as the helmsman at the ship's wheel, one of the more interesting items of the

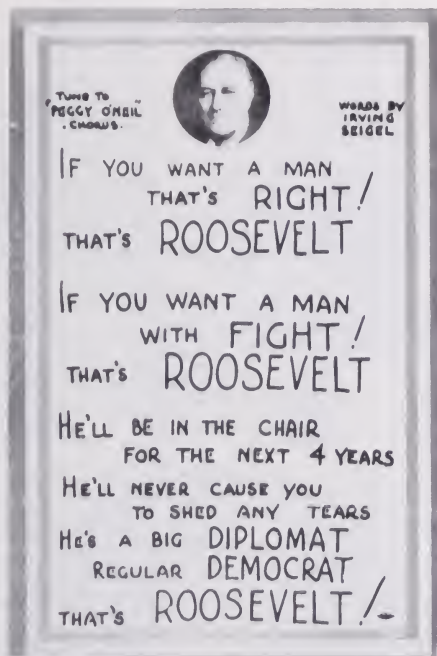




PAPER HAT

IF YOU BELIEVE IN HIM, WEAR ONE.

HOME OFFICE — 132 E. WILSON AVE., GIRARD, OHIO



campaign. Several buttons were produced that merely indicated general labor support for FDR with such slogans as "LABOR'S CHOICE" and "LABOR FOR ROOSEVELT," some of these issued by labor organizations and others by the FDR campaign itself.

Another major organization that distributed buttons was the Independent Voters' Committee, headed by New York Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia, a staunch admirer of FDR but never formally a Democrat. Roosevelt also had a committee of Hollywood notables, as did Willkie. The FDR Hollywood group issued a red, white, blue, and gold shield-shaped enamel pin with a movie camera in the center. A group about which almost nothing is known is the Missouri Minute Men for Roosevelt, which issued a lithograph button so common that huge quantities must have been made.

An added dimension to the material culture of the 1940 campaign was provided by the hundreds of varieties of slogan buttons produced and sold by the millions throughout the nation. Virtually every issue that developed during the campaign was echoed on buttons. An example is the "MY AMBASSADOR KENNEDY" and "MY AMBASSADOR" varieties, anti-FDR buttons inspired by a speech in Boston on October 30 in which Roosevelt referred to native son Joseph Kennedy as "my Ambassador to the Court of St. James, Joe Kennedy." During a campaign swing through New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware the next day, Willkie hammered away on the theme that this seemingly innocent remark was another sign of FDR's tendencies toward royalty:

"It used to be 'my friends.' Now it is 'my Ambassador.' Pretty soon it will be 'my people.' But there is one thing

that will be perfectly clear after November 5. It isn't his White House, it's the people's White House. And if Mr. Kennedy is the Ambassador of the third-term candidate, who is our Ambassador to Great Britain? That's what I want to know."

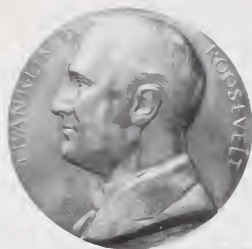
FDR did not respond personally, but a day after the Willkie attacks the State Department issued a statement insisting that his word usage was in accord with the international custom of ambassadors being regarded as the personal emissaries of the heads of state.

Other interesting anti-FDR slogan buttons included "WE DON'T THROW ROTTEN EGGS" and "ROTTEN EGGS WITH ROOSEVELT/OMELETTES WITH WILLKIE," both referring to several unfortunate incidents during the campaign when Willkie and spouse Edith were egged by pranksters, one of them apparently a WPA worker. A favorite target for put-down buttons was Eleanor Roosevelt. Her extensive travels prompted a "ROOSEVELT IS BUYING THE AQUACADE TO KEEP ELEANOR HO(L)ME," a play upon swimmer Eleanor Holme, star of Billy Rose's aquatic revue the Aquacade. Her syndicated newspaper column "My Day" inspired a few buttons, including "MY DAY WHEN I VOTE FOR WILLKIE." The induction of FDR's son Elliott into the Army Air Corps Specialists Reserve at the rank of captain in September inspired bitter criticism that Elliott had been given preferential treatment (although he argued that he was not subject to the draft because he had a wife and two children and that his military pay was much less than his current income) and a host of buttons with such legends as "I WANT TO BE A CAPTAIN," "PAPA I WANT TO BE A CAPTAIN TOO," and "I WANT WILLKIE FOR MY CAPTAIN."

Probably the most interesting anti-Willkie slogan buttons inspired by the 1940 campaign are the "A PAUPER FOR ROOSEVELT" varieties, instigated by an unfortunate speech delivered by Philadelphia lawyer and Willkie stalwart Robert McCracken in late October. According to McCracken, the only Roosevelt supporters were family members and "paupers"—those who earn less than \$1200 a year and aren't worth that." This elitist slur might have gone unnoticed if Arthur Krock had not made reference to it in his New York Times column on November 1, the morning FDR was in New York to deliver a major campaign address. His instinct for the jugular never better, Roosevelt noted the remark, paused, and in a voice filled with righteous indignation proclaimed:

"Forget the Roosevelt family—but these Americans whom this man calls 'paupers,' these Americans who in his view are not worth the income they receive, small that it is—who are they? They are only millions and millions of American families, constituting a very large part of the nation! They are only the common men and women who have helped build this country, who have made it great, and who would defend it with their lives if the need arose. 'Paupers' - who are not worth their salt. There speaks the true sentiment of the Republican leadership!"

No great insight is needed to understand that World War II was the paramount influence on Roosevelt's final campaign in 1944, for the war defined the themes and the types and quantity of materials used during the campaign and to a considerable extent defined the outcome as well. If it hadn't been for the war, FDR would almost certainly have retired from public life, for his health was deteriorating rapidly and



ROOSEVELT



HAVE FAITH
IN THE
NEW DEAL
FOR
PROSPERITY

NEW DEAL CALL
COMMITTEE



ROOSEVELT



ROOSEVELT



Retain the New Deal
by Voting the Straight
DEMOCRATIC TICKET

VERMILION COUNTY

Dr. W. C. MYERS
Chairman

Mrs. BESS M. WRIGHT
Vice Chairman



ROOSEVELT

AND
WALLACE



ROOSEVELT
AND
WALLACE



BERKS CO. PENNSYLVANIA
AT
INAUGURATION
1941



ROOSEVELT

ROOSEVELT

ROOSEVELT

FRANKLIN



I'M FOR
ROOSEVELT
IN '44



Vote for

Roosevelt



SPARE TIRE COVERS



WORLD WAR II PLACARD

his chances for completing his fourth term were rather slim. But fearing the disruptions inevitable in any change of administrations and knowing that the war could not be "put on hold" while a new team assembled itself, Roosevelt decided to seek a fourth term. It should be noted that public opinion polls indicating that no other Democrat was likely to win in 1944 also played a part in his decision to run again. With his health in such a fragile state, the choice of Missouri Senator Harry S. Truman as his running mate by the convention (over incumbent Henry Wallace and South Carolina's Jimmy Byrnes, respectively the darlings of the Democratic left and right wings) was a critical one.

The 1944 Roosevelt campaign was a very limited endeavor, with the President appearing only in four cities (New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Boston) for speeches at the local stadium. Probably the most notable event of the campaign was a fifty mile parade through the streets of New York in a cold, driving rain, a demonstration of stamina that did much to alleviate widespread fears over his health. Roosevelt's most memorable 1944 campaign address was the famous "Fala speech" given to the Teamsters in Washington on September 23, a master-piece of sarcasm aimed at the Republicans and standardbearer Tom Dewey. With the audience already in a festive mood as the speech neared its end, he complained in mock seriousness that GOP attacks on the family Scottish terrier had aroused Fala's Scottish temper. "He has not been the same dog since," lamented Roosevelt, as the crowd roared its laughter. At least one Fala campaign item was produced, a black plastic Scotty pin with the slogan "FALA ME TO THE POLLS."

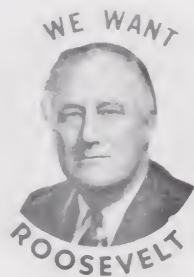
A key factor in Roosevelt's 1944 campaign was PAC, the CIO's Political Action Committee. FDR's nemesis John L. Lewis resigned as president of the CIO after the 1940 election and was replaced by the pro-Roosevelt Philip Murray. But Labor's Non-Partisan League died and in 1942 the Republicans and anti-FDR, anti-labor southern conservative Democrats scored sweeping victories. Murray and other CIO leaders realized the need to replace the LNPL and at the CIO's constitutional convention in November, 1943, the Political Action Committee was formed to aid FDR and other champions of labor in 1944. Despite investigations by House and Senate committees and a torrent of criticism in such magazines as *Life* and *Time* (hinting crudely that the PAC was a Communist-front organization), the PAC began raising money from CIO members to re-elect FDR and defeat right wing congressmen. PAC's plea for each worker to contribute a dollar to the cause led to posters pleading "PAC NEEDS A DOLLAR YOU WON'T MISS TO ELECT A MAN YOU CAN'T AFFORD TO LOSE" and buttons bearing such slogans as "HE'S GOOD ENOUGH FOR MY BUCK" and "HE IS WORTH MY DOLLAR," as well as "I AM A ROOSEVELT DOLLAR CONTRIBUTOR." At the heart of the controversy over the PAC was chairman Sidney Hillman. When Roosevelt reportedly advised that the vice presidential nomination should be discussed with Hillman ("Clear it with Sidney"), the resulting outrage inspired the 1944 anti-FDR "CLEAR EVERYTHING WITH SIDNEY" button.

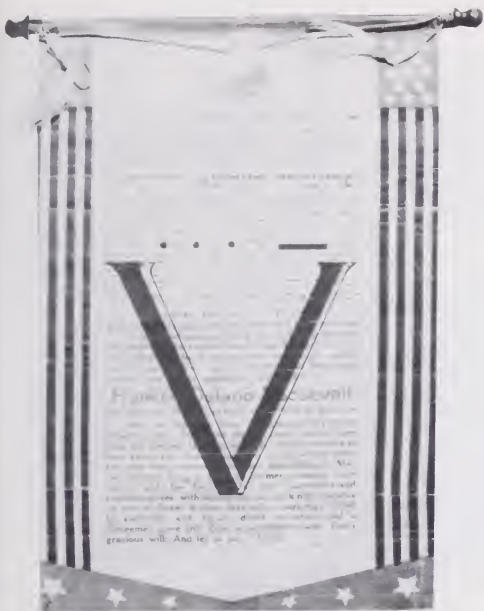
Republican hysterics over the dollar donation effort inspired Roosevelt to withering sarcasm during the "Fala" address to the Teamsters, to wit:

"You know these candidates who burst out in election-year affection for social legislation and for labor in general still think you ought to be good boys and stay out of politics. And above all, they hate to see any



35TH
WARD





working man or woman contribute a dollar bill to any wicked political party. Of course, it's all right for the large financiers and monopolists to contribute tens of thousands of dollars—but their solicitude for that dollar which the men and women of labor contribute is always very touching."

One legacy of the LNPL, however wracked by dissension, played a role in the 1944 campaign. The American Labor party of New York, formed by independent liberals and the LNPL to re-elect Roosevelt and Governor Lehman in 1936, was by 1944 in the midst of a civil war over communist participation in the party. The pro-red faction campaigned for control of the ALP as the Committee for a United Labor Party, while the opposing faction took the identity Liberal and Labor Committee to Safeguard the ALP. Despite their differences, both factions enthusiastically supported Roosevelt's re-election. After the pro-communist group seized control of the ALP through a victory in the primary, the losers formed the Liberal Party, still an active entity in New York politics. This group issued a 7/8" celluloid picture button for FDR before seceding from the ALP and after the break the Liberal party distributed an FDR picture lithograph. The ALP also campaigned vigorously for FDR in 1944 but issued no known buttons.

The 1944 campaign produced far fewer items than previous Roosevelt efforts, with celluloid buttons especially scarce. This was due to the critical shortage of materials during the war. One item that symbolizes this state of affairs is a 15/16" "ROOSEVELT-TRUMAN" button-like item made from cardboard that features a fold-out in the back, permitting it to be worn on a lapel or attached with a pin.

Many of the buttons that were made reflected the preoccupation with the war. Picture buttons (as well as posters,

small window banners, and other items) used the "V" victory symbol and other buttons pledged "WE ARE GOING TO WIN THIS WAR AND WIN THE PEACE THAT FOLLOWS," paraphrasing FDR's emotional fireside chat two days after Pearl Harbor. Stickers (found as stickers or glued to buttons) celebrated the four freedoms enunciated in the Roosevelt-Churchill Atlantic Charter in 1941. Other war-related 1944 campaign buttons included an "ALL FOR ONE ONE FOR ALL" variety picturing a member of each branch of the Armed Forces, an "ALL OUT FOR DURABLE VICTORY" word celluloid, the 1" lithograph "GO 4th TO WIN THE WAR" picture button, and the 1 3/4" picture button urging "SUPPORT YOUR COMMANDER IN CHIEF."

This latter button featured the standard photo of Roosevelt used in the 1944 campaign, one exhibited on nationally distributed posters and literature and many of the more common buttons. A few 1944 buttons, including the 2 1/4" "OUR LEADER" picture button and a 2 1/4" FDR-Frank Lausche jugate, are noteworthy for their use of a photo of an obviously aged Roosevelt. Buttons with this picture surface most regularly in Ohio and were probably made by an Ohio manufacturer. A 2 1/4" celluloid "ROOSEVELT-TRUMAN DEMOCRATIC ASSN." button picturing only FDR is equally unusual, for it features the standard 1936 Roosevelt campaign likeness.

The aforementioned picture lithograph "GO 4th TO WIN THE WAR" was one of the few FDR buttons referring to the fourth term bid, although there was apparently much less sensitivity over the fourth term than there had been in 1940 over the third. An "FR/HE SAVED OUR HOME" name celluloid, quite surely a 1944 button because it is a mate to the "ALL OUT FOR DURABLE VICTORY" pin, is perhaps the only 1944 FDR item to echo the domestic priorities of the New Deal.

One noteworthy void for collectors is the absence of legitimate 1944 FDR-Truman jugates. As I have written in an earlier Keynote (see 1980:2, page 12), some of the clearer 1" and 1 1/2" sepia and white FDR-Truman jugates circulating in the hobby were apparently made in 1944 but never used in the campaign, others were made from original papers several years later for the collector market, and the fuzzy variety was created by reproducing the original papers after the supply of clear ones was exhausted.

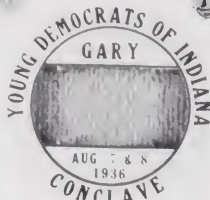
Given his enormous importance (FDR has recently been ranked the greatest of modern presidents and second overall to Abraham Lincoln), his profound influence on the shaping of our modern concept of governmental power and responsibility, the length of time he dominated the national spotlight, and the domestic and international crises he guided a troubled nation through, it is only natural that Roosevelt inspired an extraordinary quantity and variety of political items of all sorts. Few public figures have been responsible for so many buttons and other items that reflect so graphically the issues and tenor of the times that produced them.★



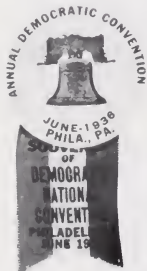
"VOTE DEMOCRATIC"



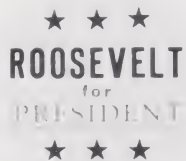
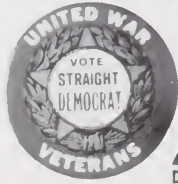
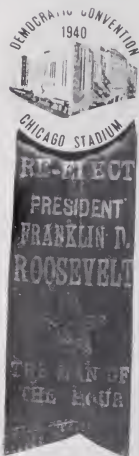
GO FORWARD



VOTE STRAIGHT DEMOCRATIC



VICTORY





POWDER COMPACTS



PAPER STICKER



INK BLOTTER

FORWARD
with
ROOSEVELT



DEMOCRATIC ☒

NO WORLD WAR III
FOR ME!

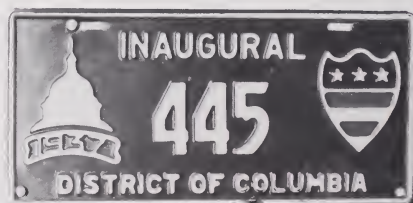
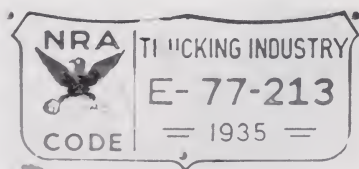
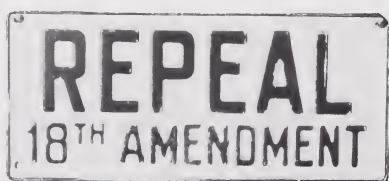
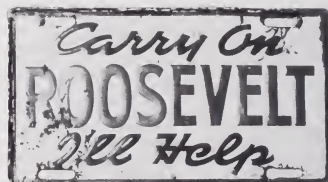
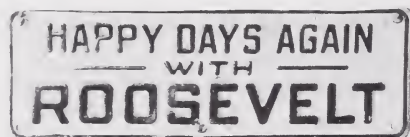
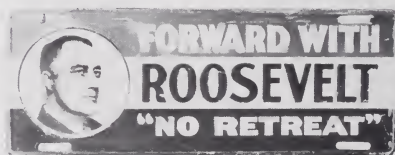
Mama's Going to Vote For

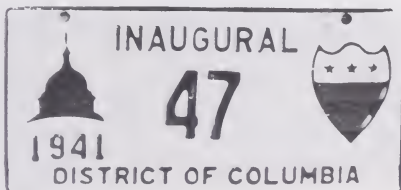
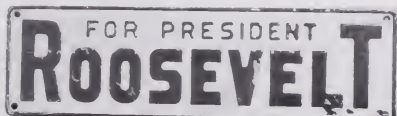
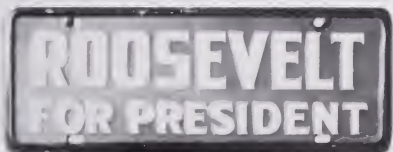
ROOSEVELT

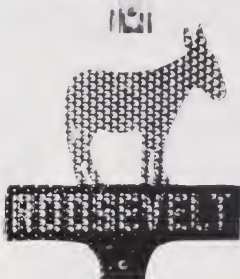
AND A CONGRESS
TO SUPPORT HIM



"DRIVE AHEAD WITH ROOSEVELT"







TWO BOTTOM ITEMS SHOWN LARGER THAN THOSE ABOVE

Here's a FORD

— THAT'S —

NOT for HOOVER!

THIS FORD VOTES
FOR
ROOSEVELT

THIS IS MY CAR!

HOOVER promised it to me—
ROOSEVELT gave it to me—
Don't let WILLKIE TAKE IT
AWAY from me.

6TH WARD

ROOSEVELT

ROOSEVELT



SKIN TRANSFERS



PAPER STICKERS

"I'M GLAD IT WAS ME INSTEAD OF YOU"

THE DEATH OF ANTON CERMAK

by ROBERT ROUSE

These words are carved on the tomb of former Chicago mayor Anton Cermak in Bohemian National Cemetery on the north side of Chicago. They also appeared on many artifacts issued during February and March, 1932 following Guiseppe Zangara's attempt to assassinate FDR in which Mayor Cermak was mortally wounded. This noble, selfless expression was contrary to Cermak's personal feelings toward FDR; in fact the statement was fabricated by a Chicago journalist, John Dienhart, who doubled as a press agent for Cermak, because "it made good copy." There is one further irony in this story: in the public mind Cermak's name is forever linked with Roosevelt's, but in life Cermak was much closer to Al Smith. He worked for Smith at the Democratic National Conventions of 1924, 1928 and 1932.

Anton Cermak was brought to America as an infant in 1874 from Kladno, Bohemia (Czechoslovakia), where he was born. He received three years of primary education in Braidwood, Illinois, 65 miles southwest of Chicago, where his father worked as a coal miner. He came to Chicago at the age of 16 and found employment as a kindling wood vendor in a Bohemian immigrant neighborhood. This experience led later detractors to label him "Pushcart Tony." Cermak's financial interests eventually grew to include ownership of a coal and wood business, president of a building and loan association, bank director, and real estate partner.

He became involved in Democratic ward politics and rose steadily. He defeated an incumbent Republican state representative in 1902 and served in the legislature until 1909, when the Irish city bosses agreed to let him challenge a Republican alderman in his heavily Slavic ward. He surprised them with a convincing victory. This was a big step upward for Cermak, for in Chicago many more "perks" and opportunities for wealth and power accrue to a city alderman than to a state representative. After a stint as a municipal court bailiff, he lost a race for sheriff of Cook County in 1918 and returned to the city council until 1922, when (to the delight of his Irish mentors) he was elected president of the Cook County Board of Commissioners. During the next decade he organized the modern Democratic organization in Chicago, using patronage and public works contracts to cement the loyalty of Chicago's immigrant population to the party. He demanded discipline and loyalty and achieved it by any means necessary. Cermak capped his rise to local political leadership in 1928 by becoming chairman of the Cook County Democratic party, but his ambition to run for governor was thwarted by the Irish party leadership, which offered him a Senate nomination instead. He did not campaign vigorously, because his personality made him prefer an executive rather than a legislative role.

All the while he had been active in the repeal movement. Indeed, Braidwood where he grew up had one saloon for every 150 people while he lived there. Early in his political career he joined the United Societies for Local Self Government, a group financed by brewers and distillers which

fought closing hour laws, Sunday ordinances and finally Prohibition, because "For Bohemians, saloons and dance halls aren't the evil they are for some other ethnic groups, they are places to gather and discuss the events of our lives over a few beers."

He lost the Senate race in the Hoover landslide, but in 1931 a better opportunity developed. Chicagoans were weary of a corrupt Republican administration, and the criminal, gangster activity which flourished during Prohibition. The nation's second largest city also suffered from mass unemployment brought on by the Great Depression. Backed by Chicago's reform groups and his own Democratic machine, a coalition of Bohemians, Slavs, Wets, foreign-born, and small businessmen who joined with the more traditional elements of the Democratic party, Cermak defeated the flamboyant incumbent William Hale Thompson in a bitter campaign marred by ethnic bigotry. Cermak pioneered the use of film in a mayoral campaign and, despite his third grade education, his strategists portrayed him as "The Master Executive" who could manage Chicago's way out of hard times. In the words of one campaign aide, "When we ran Cermak for mayor, we put the real Cermak in the cellar and kept him hidden - a stuffed shirt was put on display." This is not to demean him: Cermak was a very intelligent man with a genius for organization, an extraordinary empathy for working people, and a decisive style of leadership. Cermak was also expected to restore the city's image for the Century of Progress World's Fair in 1933. The Fair would stimulate the economy of the city and sponsors did not want Chicago perceived as a place where visitors would be subject to violence and bloodshed, an image which the activities of Capone, Nitti, and others had encouraged.

His most pressing problem proved to be the relief costs of





providing for Chicago's unemployed. More than 750,000 people were jobless and only 800,000 people had jobs. The problem was aggravated by falling tax revenues - nearly \$700 million in taxes were unpaid - which brought the city to the brink of bankruptcy. When he was unable to obtain necessary aid from the state, he considered running for governor in 1932. However, when the time came it did not seem politically feasible, so he backed and elected another ethnic, Judge Henry Horner. Meanwhile, Cermak turned to the federal government as the only source capable of providing the financial support cities needed. To improve his chances, he wielded his statewide political influence to assure a sweeping victory for Illinois Democrats in 1932. Following the election, Cermak went to Miami with a few infamous aldermen to confer with Jim Farley, the Democratic National Chairman, and the President-elect. The conversation that follows is taken from *Clout: Mayor Daley and His City* by Len O'Connor (Henry Regnery Co., Chicago, 1975). "According to Alderman Bauler, Mayor Cermak had no desire to pay his respects to the President-elect on that fateful night. That February, in fact, Cermak was holed up in Paddy Bauler's winter home, bought and paid for with Bauler's hard-won earnings in the bootlegging and horse book trades, and was not disposed to inconvenience himself for the man whose nomination he had tried vainly to block at the 1932 convention." Cermak had ostensibly backed Al Smith through all four ballots at the 1932 convention. He felt more comfortable with a well known 'wet', an urban boss of lower class birth than he did with the Hyde Park aristocrat whose wetness was suspect.

"As Bauler, an uncouth character who was blessed with a

photographic memory, reconstructed the situation years later: 'Cermak said he didn't like the son of a bitch-this Roosevelt-and didn't want to go see the son of a bitch! I sez, 'Listen, for Cry sakes, you ain't got any money for the Chicago school teachers and this Roosevelt is the only one who can get it for you.' " (The period 1930 to 1934 was a nightmare for Chicago teachers. Although they had jobs, payless paydays and script paydays-the script was redeemed by local banks and merchants at a discount-were the norm. During one grim period many were not paid for more than a year, even though they were working.) "'you better get over there and kiss his ass or whatever you got to do. Only you better get the goddamn money for them teachers, or we ain't goin' to have a city that's worth runnin'! So he goes over and, Christ Almighty, next thing I hear on the radio is that Cermak's got shot."

Cermak controlled the third largest delegation and the gallery at the 1932 convention. (The gallery was packed with enthusiastic Wets - most of them Smith supporters.) To avoid committing himself prior to the convention he presuaded freshman senator James Hamilton Lewis to be Illinois' favorite son. But Lewis doublecrossed the Mayor and withdrew his name on the eve of the convention, thinking this would free Illinois' 58 votes for Roosevelt, thus giving him the nomination. Cermak had other ideas; he quickly unveiled a prominent friend from Chicago's banking community, Melvin Traylor, as the delegation's favorite son. In the eyes of Farley and others, this allied him with the Smith-Tammany "stop-Roosevelt" movement. Cermak sat tight on the first three roll calls, delivering for Traylor each time. During the second roll call Farley approached Cermak without success. As Farley later recalled, "I knew that if I could convince Cermak, Indiana would follow and the result would be inevitable . . . He had everything in his hands at that moment-national prominence, everything-but he postponed the decision and political opportunity passed him by." In the recess between the third and fourth ballots, Farley negotiated the deal with Sam Rayburn and John Nance Garner which netted the Texas and California delegations. This broke the logjam and FDR was nominated, but Cermak missed his opportunity. He did achieve his main objective when the convention adopted the "Illinois plank," the wettest of the Wet planks, but he left the convention on poor terms with FDR.

During the campaign he tried to make amends by speaking extensively for FDR in Chicago, throughout Illinois, and in adjacent states with large foreign-born populations. Farley put him in charge of the national campaign in Illinois. Cermak organized the National Association of Roosevelt Czechoslovakian Clubs of America. His most significant contribution, though, was effective fundraising to help match the large sums available to Hoover. But only by quickly making up for lost time had Cermak succeeded, by December, 1932, in reaching an accommodation of sorts with James A. Farley on the matter of getting federal patronage for the Cermak faithful.

In February, however, the deal had yet to be sealed, and—as Bauler had said—the city's coffers were bare and Cermak had no choice but to seek emergency funding from Washington. It was known that the President-elect was to interrupt a preinaugural cruise so that he could attend a reception in his honor in Bayfront Park, Miami, on the night of February 15, 1933. "Aware that Farley was already promising federal patronage to some of his enemies, Cermak's intention was to

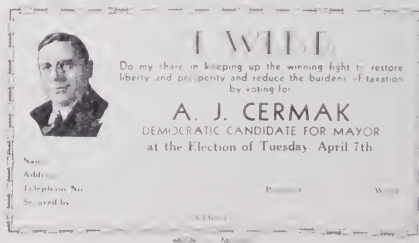
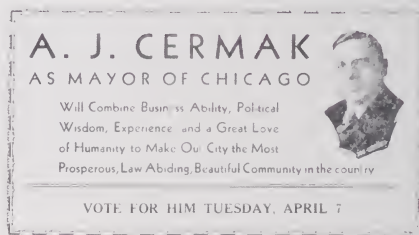
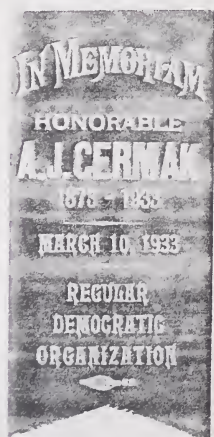
show his disdain by being off on riotous holiday in Havana, Cuba, with me (Alderman Bauler) and Charlie Weber when Roosevelt arrived."

As Cermak approached the open car from which the President-elect had just made his talk, five shots rang out. Reportedly a spectator brushed the gunman's arm, thus sparing FDR. Instead, Cermak and two onlookers were wounded. Immediately, Cermak was hauled into the car, which raced for a nearby hospital. The nation shivered with pride when it read in the newspaper that, in this moment of agony, Cermak had whispered to Roosevelt, "I'm glad it was me instead of you." Actually Cermak never said that; a Hearst political writer named John Dienhart, who doubled on the sly as Cermak's traveling companion, confidant, and public relations adviser, later admitted that he dreamed up the story. "Jesus," Dienhart said, "I couldn't very well have put out a story that Tony would have wanted it the other way around." What Cermak actually said was, "They got me," referring to the Chicago mafia, which he believed had marked him for death since his plans would adversely affect their influence and income. Cermak's fear of assassination was so great that he had ordered a bullet-proof vest before he left for Florida, but he had never picked it up.

Cermak did not die immediately. He suffered a punctured lung, and the bullet lodged in a vertebra. During the nineteen days he lingered his condition deteriorated rapidly, but during this period he displayed a stubborn strength which earned him the admiration and respect of people throughout the nation. Seven telegraph machines were installed in the hospital to keep the public advised of his condition. He died on March 6, 1933. His assailant, Guiseppe Zangara, a 33 year-old Italian anarchist, was never proven to have links to organized crime. He reportedly plotted to kill the King of Italy and President Hoover, but settled on Roosevelt. Zangara claimed he had no intention of harming a working man like Cermak." Today he would be judged insane and committed to a mental institution, but in 1933 he was electro-

cuted two weeks after Cermak died. Months later the autopsy was released; it indicated Cermak died of ulcerative colitis, an illness from which he suffered all his life. His personal physician then told the press that the mayor had "substantially healed from the attack" and "had not died directly" from the bullet wound.

Chicago's public expression of grief for its only foreign-born mayor far transcended Cermak's popularity in life. According to his biographer, Alex Gottfried, 23,000 mourners attended the memorial service at the Chicago Stadium where the mayor had greeted delegates to the Democratic National Convention only eight months earlier; 30,000 participated in the funeral procession and 500,000 spectators lined the funeral route on a frigid day. To those who knew him, his memorial is the repeal of Prohibition. Perhaps no other person did as much to discredit the Eighteenth Amendment. He authored three statewide initiatives from 1922 to 1930 to demonstrate that Prohibition was against the wishes of the majority. He was a principal in the adoption of the "barroom plank" - in the words of Senator Carter Glass - at the 1932 Democratic Convention. Unfortunately Cermak did not live to see the acceptance of his cause. A week after his death, the House passed the Cullen Bill which permitted 3.2 per cent beer by a margin of three to one. A month after his death Illinois and twenty-two other states permitted the legal sale of beer. In November, 1933, the repeal amendment went into effect. ★







(6")



(6")





WATCHER

DEMOCRATIC
WATCHERBE PRESSED
TO
PROSPERITYGOOD-BYE
HOOVERROOSEVELT
AND
GARNERDEMOCRATIC
CITY COMMITTEE

ROOSEVELT

KEEP
PROSPERITY
WITH
ROOSEVELTAMERICA
WANTS
ROOSEVELTFOR
ROOSEVELT
NEW
DEALFOR
ROOSEVELT
NEW
DEAL

F.D.R.

VETERANS
FOR
ROOSEVELT

FDR's COATTAILS

by ROBERT ROUSE

FDR's enormous popularity prompted many candidates at all levels to issue coattail buttons and ribbons, associating their names with that of the popular president. Judging from the evidence of the more than seventy candidates presented below, candidates in the Northeast and the Midwest found the president's coattails most appealing. Very few items were issued in the South, despite the many benefits the Roosevelt administration conferred on this region; fewer still are from the Plains and Mountain states. Furthermore, judging from the items cited here, Roosevelt's coattails were about as popular in the Depression-plagued 1930s as they were during the 1940s.

In New England, Massachusetts and Connecticut campaigns produced many items. John Vargo provides an excellent background on the Curley items elsewhere in this issue. Other items came from the 1940 and 1944 elections. In 1936 Charles Hurley edged Republican John Haigis for Governor of Massachusetts; he lost the primary to the indomitable Curley in 1938 and reportedly retired from public life. However, the Walsh/Cole/Hurley items must be from 1940, since Harold E. Cole unsuccessfully challenged longtime Republican House leader Joseph Martin in 1940 and David Walsh won his last term in the Senate in 1940 after 14 years of service there. In 1944 Maurice Tobin stepped up to the governor's chair after six years as Mayor of Boston. He lost the 1946 race by more than 100,000 votes, but President Truman appointed him Secretary of Labor.

Connecticut campaigns produced a set of "Support Roosevelt" buttons and name pins for Wilbur Cross, governor from 1931 to 1939. Cross retired from Yale University in 1930 after 37 years as an English professor and administrator. He became interested in politics as the Depression worsened, and won the Democratic nomination for governor in 1930 as a "wet" candidate. After 1933 he supported the New Deal and implemented similar reforms in Connecticut. Cross was expected to win a fifth term in 1938, but an unexpectedly large vote, 26 percent, cast for Jasper McLevey, Socialist mayor of Bridgeport, enabled Republican Robert Baldwin to win.

The set was probably introduced in 1934 when Francis Maloney won the first of his two terms in the Senate. Cross won his third term, T. Frank Hayes, Mayor of Waterbury was elected Lieutenant Governor, Dr. John Satti, a physician, was elected Secretary of State, Edward Daly won the Attorney General's office, and John Addis was elected Treasurer. Joseph Smith of Waterbury was elected to the first of his four terms in the House and William Citron of Middletown was elected to Congress after two previous losses. With the exception of Daly, the state team was re-elected in 1936. William Fitzgerald of Norwich was also elected to Congress in 1936 and 1940. He lost close races in 1938 and 1942.

Robert A. Hurley recaptured the governorship for the Democrats in 1940 and Charles Snow, another English pro-

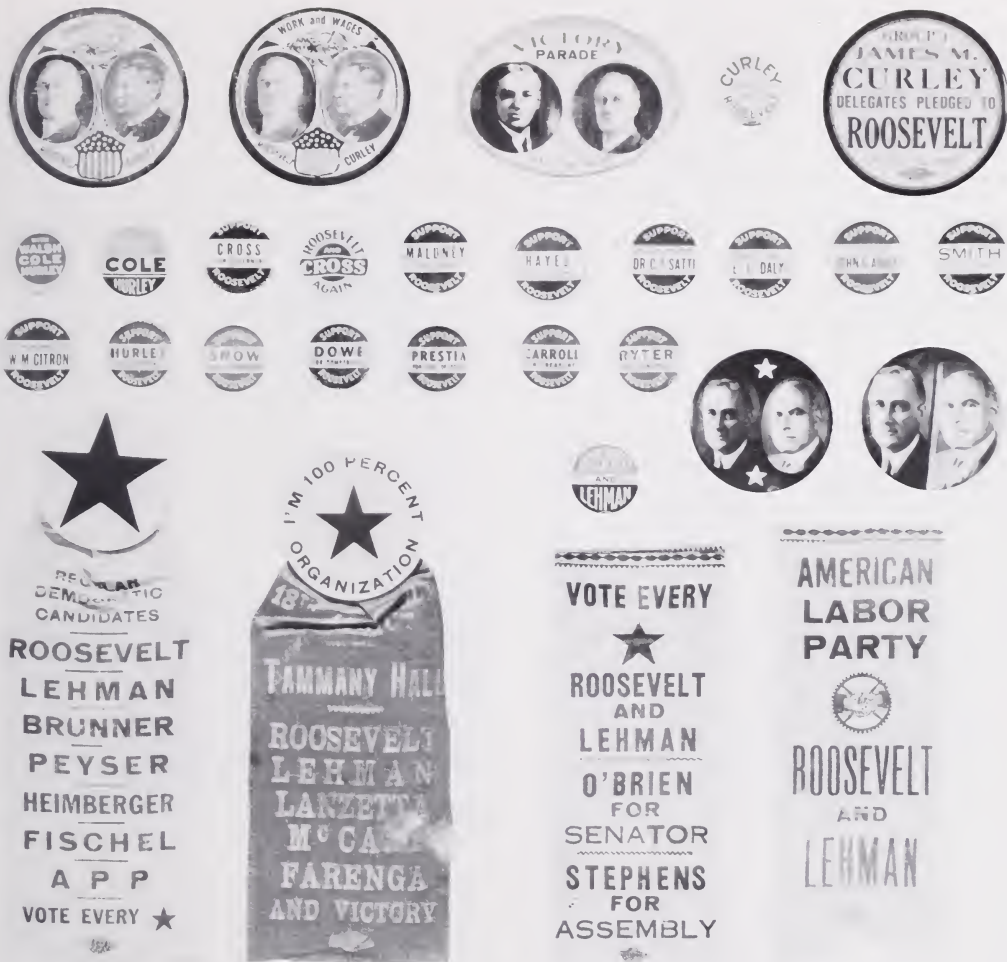
fessor, was elected Lieutenant Governor. I think the pins for John Dowe, Prestia, and Carroll are also from this election. The set was completed in 1944 when Joseph Ryter was elected to Congress.

New York Democrats consistently distribute coattail buttons and ribbons regardless of the strength of the man on top of the ticket. With a strong native son heading the ticket, it is no surprise that many pieces were issued in the Empire state. Democrat Herbert Lehman was elected governor four times with the support of the American Labor party. He served from 1933 until December, 1942, when he resigned to join the State Department as Director of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation. He later had the same title at the United Nations. From 1949 to 1957 he served in the Senate. His tenure in Albany has been referred to by historians as "a little New Deal." The ribbons for Mead and others were used in 1938 and 1940, when James Mead was elected to the Senate as a Democrat with support from the ALP. In 1936 George Kelly was elected to Congress from Rochester. In 1941 Dean Alfanger lost a special House election in New York's 17th District. A year later he ran for governor on the ALP ticket, attracting 400,000 votes (less than a fifth of Tom Dewey's winning total). In 1944 ALP congressional candidate James King lost to a Democrat in the 14th District.

Percy Stewart lost a special New Jersey Senate election to Warren Barbour in 1932 by one percent of the vote. Barbour lost as a Landon coattail in 1936 but returned to the Senate via another special election in 1938. In 1940 he defeated James Cromwell by more than 200,000 votes. In House races Fred Hoelscher was overwhelmed by George Seger of Passaic in 1938 and John Gorman lost a very close contest in Camden in 1944.

Pennsylvania races produced several items. F. Clair Ross was a candidate for State Treasurer and Warren Roberts was a candidate for state Auditor in 1936. I think the gold elliptical button is from Norbert Fitzgerald's unsuccessful 1938 congressional campaign in Erie. Republican Robert Rodgers won the race and served four terms. It is fitting that Senator Joseph Guffey issued a handsome jugate in his successful re-election bid because he was an early, enthusiastic proponent of a third term for President.

Matthew Neeley of West Virginia has to rank as one of the most durable politicians in America. He was elected to Congress in 1913 to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of John W. Davis when Davis was appointed Solicitor General by President Wilson. He served three more terms before losing in the Harding landslide. He then served one term in the Senate but lost a re-election bid in the Hoover landslide. He won Senate elections in 1930 and 1936 but resigned in 1941 because he was elected governor on November 5, 1940. Midway into his term as governor he lost a Senate bid and late in his term he won a House seat, which he assumed when his term expired in January, 1945. When he lost his Congressional race in 1946 he turned his attention to the



Senate and won in 1948 and 1954. Harley Kilgore was elected to the first of his three terms in the Senate in 1940. Curiously, both Neely and Kilgore died during their final terms.

In Minnesota, Democrat John E. Regan finished a poor third (16.4%) in the governor's race. Incumbent Floyd Olson was re-elected on the Farmer Labor ticket. The Regan campaign issued name buttons in both red and white and red, white and blue calling for repeal.

Five Iowans used Roosevelt's name to enhance their appeal. In 1932 Clyde Herring defeated incumbent Governor Dan Turner. Herring was re-elected in 1934 and in 1936 he defeated the Republican incumbent in the Senate race. Kenneth Baldrige did not do as well; he lost the race in the 5th CD to five term incumbent Lloyd Thurston of Osceola in 1936. The pride Iowa Democrats felt when native son Henry

Wallace was promoted to Vice-presidential nominee after eight years as Secretary of Agriculture is evident in the 1940 Big 3 item. But Democrat John Valentine lost to incumbent Governor George Wilson as Willkie carried the state. Dewey and the Republicans swept the state in 1944; Governor Bourke Hickenlooper defeated incumbent Senator Guy M. Gillett for the first of his four Senate terms. Republican Robert Blue defeated R. F. Mitchell for Governor and Republicans captured the eight Congressional seats.

In Missouri Joel Bennett Clark, the son of Champ Clark, was elected Senator in 1932 and 1938. Francis Wilson won the Democratic primary for Governor in 1932. His campaign produced a least three name pins. Wilson died a month before the general election and Judge Guy B. Park replaced him on the ticket. Park defeated Republican Edward Winter by nearly 340,000 votes.

In 1936 Lloyd C. Stark defeated Jesse Barrett for Governor. The Stark campaign produced a scarce jugate and common name pins. Stark was close to FDR and in 1938 and 1939 he was regularly invited to join the President aboard his yacht for Potomac cruises. When Tom Pendergast, Truman's mentor, was sentenced to Leavenworth, newspapers pointed to Stark as Truman's successor and began referring to him as the "Tom Dewey of Missouri." The Kansas City *Star* went so far as to hail him as "a good bet as a compromise Presidential candidate." In Washington, there was a widespread speculation he would be named to the Cabinet, most likely as a replacement for the ailing Secretary of the Navy; meanwhile FDR offered Truman an appointment to the Interstate Commerce Commission! Indeed Truman's prospects for renomination were bleak and his relationship to FDR was distant, as a remark quoted in the *Star* indicates: "I haven't seen the President in months—he has ignored me from the start." South Carolina Senator James Byrnes, who was known as Roosevelt's messenger in the Senate, once said, "The President told me that while he did not know much about Truman, Governor Stark was an intimate friend, was very progressive, and would make a great Senator." Truman biographer Alfred Steinberg wrote, "Despite Roosevelt's display of favoritism for Governor Stark, Truman hoped for a few kind words from the White House. The most he could get was a pallid statement from press secretary Steve Early: 'While Senator Truman is an old and trusted friend of the President, his invariable practice has not been to take part in primary contests.' Ignoring White House rebuffs, Truman realized the importance of wrapping himself in the Roosevelt mantle, and he seldom failed to remind his audiences of this." Could it be that some of the Roosevelt-Truman items are from Truman's 1940 Senate race?

At the 1940 convention Stark ran for Vice-president and opened a headquarters which distributed "Stark Delicious" apples to all delegates (his family was in the nursery business). His boomlet failed when FDR chose Henry Wallace but he returned to Missouri for the August 6 primary. Stark led as the ballots were counted through the night and Truman later said, "I went to bed defeated," but at 11:00 AM the next morning the tally was complete: it showed Truman the winner of the three-way race by less than 8000 votes out of more than 640,000 cast. Truman credited Robert Hannegan, a partner in the Dickmann-Hannegan machine, with his victory. Hannegan switched his support from Stark to Truman two days before the election and Truman carried St. Louis by 8411 votes, his winning margin. He repaid the favor as President; he named Hannegan Postmaster General.

Across the Missouri River in Kansas, Kirk Prather sought the Democratic nomination for governor in 1934. Prather invoked the president's name on his button but lost the nomination to Omar Ketchum. Ketchum lost the election to incumbent Alf Landon. As the only Republican re-elected to a governorship in 1934, Landon became a leading contendor for the 1936 presidential nomination.

In Trempealeau County, Wisconsin, a name pin was issued for Albert G. Schmedemann, Ambassador to Norway for eight years in the Wilson administration and a four term mayor of Madison, who defeated former Republican governor Walter Kohler in 1932. Schmedemann lost the governorship to Progressive candidate Phillip LaFollette in 1934. In 1936 LaFollette was re-elected over Republican Alexander

Wiley, who later served in the Senate from 1939 to 1963, and Democrat William L. Lueck, who garnered less than 22 percent of the vote.

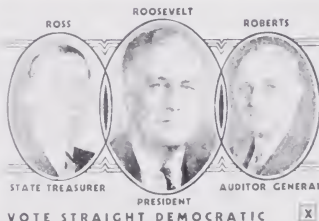
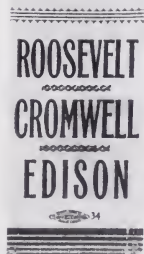
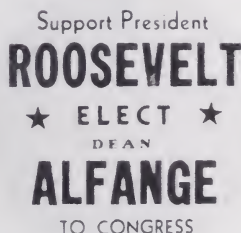
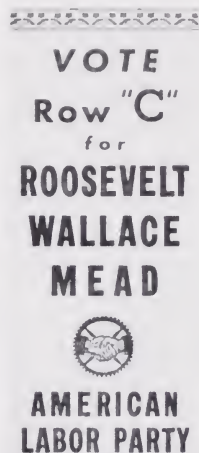
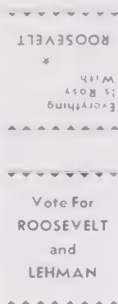
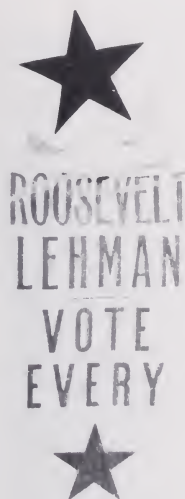
Illinois candidates issued a spate of FDR coattail items between 1932 and 1944. Henry Horner appeared on a litho jugate used in his race for governor in 1932. He was re-elected in 1936 and three jugates were issued, 1¼" varieties in blue and white and black and white and a ¾" jugate from Peoria County. At least two different name pins were also issued. The unsuccessful campaign of Harry Hershey for the governorship in 1940 produced a desirable jugate, a tab, and black and blue versions of "Labor Wants Roosevelt and Hershey."

In 1944 the independent vote in three Chicago-area congressional districts was encouraged with three quite similar tabs. One-term incumbent William A. Rowan was re-elected in the 2nd District on the South Side. Alexander J. Resa won a close contest in the 9th District, an affluent lakefront district on the North Side. Curtis MacDougall lost to veteran Representative Ralph Church in the 10th District, the affluent suburbs north of Chicago. Although these men ran as Democrats, the Independent endorsement was perceived to carry more weight in their respective districts. Rowan's district included the University of Chicago, a bastion of liberal thought which sent Professor Paul Douglas to the Senate and others to lesser offices. Similarly Resa's district included liberal, affluent voters who opposed the candidates of the Chicago Democratic machine forged by Mayor Anton Cermak and nurtured by his successors, Mayors Kelly and Richard Daley. MacDougall was the ritual sacrificial Democrat in the 10th District until thirty years later, when Abner Mikva eked out a narrow victory against the backdrop of Watergate to become the first Democrat to carry the district in eighty-four years!

A rare jugate picturing Illinois Senator James Hamilton Lewis as a vice-presidential candidate probably represented a supporter's fantasy. The freshman senator was more partial to FDR than was his mentor, Mayor Cermak. In fact he reneged on a commitment he had made to Cermak under duress and withdrew as Illinois' favorite son on the eve of the 1932 convention. Hamilton thought this action would pave the way for FDR's nomination, but only the most optimistic booster would think the pre-convention withdrawal of an obscure favorite-son candidate would merit the vice-presidential nomination. Hamilton died in 1939 and Governor Horner appointed James Slattery to the seat. Slattery's 1940 campaign for the Senate produced a coattail matchbook.

A wooden coattail item from Michigan, probably intended for use as a lightpull, features a beer keg with the inscription "Vote for Roosevelt and Repeal." On the reverse is the slogan "Protect Michigan Investors/Vote for Comstock." William A. Comstock was elected governor in the Roosevelt landslide of 1932 after three unsuccessful tries. The united Auto Workers backed Frank Fitzgerald with a button and tab in his 1940 race against Michigan Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg. Vandenberg won the third of his four terms.

Indiana Senator Sherman Minton was defeated by Republican Raymond E. Willis in 1940. Henry F. Schricker defeated Glenn R. Hillis for Governor by .2 percent. The Willis and Hillis names are on Willkie coattail buttons. In 1944 Republican Homer E. Capehart defeated Governor Henry Schricker in their race for the U. S. Senate. Republican Ralph F. Gates defeated Samuel D. Jackson for Gover-



nor. The 4" lithos are unusual in light of the materials shortages which characterized World War II years. Another 1944 Indiana item was issued for Charles Eichel, who lost the Congressional race to Charles M. La Follette of Evansville.

Three of the four governors of Ohio during the Roosevelt era were Democrats, but considering their relations with the White House during their respective terms, it is surprising to find their common coattail pins. George White was elected Democratic National Chairman for the Cox-Roosevelt campaign in 1920. He was elected governor in 1930 and 1932. He supported New Deal policies, but it was widely assumed he was not a New Dealer at heart. He entered the Senate primary in 1934, but FDR and his allies endorsed Charles West. Neither won; former governor Vic Donahey was the nominee. New Dealers opposed White's second quest for the Senate nomination in 1938. As chairman of the Northwest Territory Commission, White welcomed FDR to a celebration in Marietta. Though they shared the platform FDR failed to mention White or his campaign, which subsequently failed. Angered by these repeated affronts, White campaigned for Willkie in 1940.

Martin Davey was elected governor in 1934 and 1936. His terms were marked by feuds with the Ohio legislature, John L. Lewis and the CIO, and the Roosevelt administration. His feud with FDR began when Davey charged that federal administration of relief in Ohio was "cruel, inhuman and wasteful." In retaliation, Harry Hopkins, director of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and one of the most powerful men in the Roosevelt administration, charged that Davey's campaign committee had extracted contributions from persons doing business with his agency. When a legislative investigation cleared Davey and his campaign managers, Davey countered by taking out an arrest warrant for Hopkins on a charge of criminal libel. Scandals and New Deal maneuvering caused Davey to lose the 1938 primary. He was renominated in 1940 but lost to John Bricker, Ohio's first three-term governor, who emerged as Dewey's running mate in 1944.

Frank Lausche was elected governor in 1944 after a campaign which was independent of Democratic party help. One result is that there are FDR/Lausche items as well as a Dewey/Lausche button. Perhaps TV newsman Sander Vanocur expressed Lausche's unconventional political

character best when he said, "Lausche beat all opponents year after year by running as a Democrat and voting like a Republican." Lausche was an able trial lawyer when he became a judge in 1932. He was elected mayor of Cleveland in 1941 and 1943 before his successful bid for governor in 1944. Though he lost the 1946 race, he won four more two-year terms as governor before moving on to the Senate in 1956. During his years in the governor's mansion he exhibited Republican leanings and announced that he had voted for Senator Robert Taft in 1950, and had a "certain affinity for Eisenhower." He continued to avoid all connections with the state Democratic party and offered no help to party candidates. By 1968 his increasing conservatism and personal style had alienated so many that he lost the Senate primary to John Gilligan.

The Roosevelt/Chandler item is interesting, since Albert B. "Happy" Chandler made a reputation as a maverick Democrat who opposed party candidates. After three years in politics he was elected Lieutenant Governor of Kentucky in 1931. During a temporary absence of Governor Ruby Laffoon in 1935, Chandler called a special session of the General Assembly which enacted a state primary law. He entered the Democratic primary, defeated the Laffoon candidate, and beat the Republican in November. Since he could not succeed himself in the 1939 elections, he entered the Democratic senatorial contest in 1938 against the Senate Majority Leader, Alben W. Barkley. When FDR visited Kentucky to campaign for Barkley, the irrepressible Chandler exercised his prerogative as governor to sit on the platform while Roosevelt urged Barkley's nomination! Barkley won by 50,000 votes but Chandler became a senator a year later when Senator Logan died and Chandler resigned as governor to be appointed to the Senate as his successor. In 1940 he was elected to fill the remainder of Logan's term, and this time he enjoyed FDR's support in the primary. In 1942 he beat John Y. Brown (father of Kentucky's current governor) for a full Senate term. In the fall of 1945 he resigned his seat to become the second commissioner of major league baseball. He supported his "life long friend" Republican John Sherman Cooper over fellow Democrat John Y. Brown in the race for his vacant seat. Cooper won. In 1948 his weekly newspaper the *Woodford Sun* supported Strom Thurmond on the States Rights ticket rather than Truman. He returned home in July, 1951, when the baseball owners declined to renew his contract. In 1955 he defeated the party candidate who was endorsed by the incumbent Democratic governor, Senator Barkley and Senator Clements, also a Democrat, for the gubernatorial nomination. During the ten months he campaigned, he delivered more than 900 speeches. After each one he sang "There's a Gold Mine in the Sky" for his audience. He was reelected governor on the slogan "Be like your pappy and vote for Happy." In 1956 he ran as a favorite son candidate at the Democratic Convention. Then in November he bolted the party to support Republican friends John Sherman Cooper and Thruston Morton in Senate elections. Each of them defeated a former Kentucky governor.

Very few Democrats in the South saw any need to identify with FDR, given the absence of serious Republican challengers in the region during this period. After two unsuccessful bids for the nomination, Hill McCallister was elected governor of Tennessee in 1932 and 1934 with strong backing from Boss Ed Crump of Memphis. Under Hill's leadership Tennessee participated in practically all of the New Deal agencies, with the result that the federal govern-

ment established an unprecedented influence in state affairs. Howard Smith of Alexandria, Virginia, served in the House from 1931 to 1967. Harry F. Byrd was in the Senate from 1933 until poor health forced him to retire in 1965. His family dominated Virginia politics for nearly sixty years. The FDR-Byrd button was used in 1940. Two items were issued when David Scholtz beat William Howey for the Florida governorship in 1932.

The southwestern states produced three scarce FDR coat-tail picture pins. Sidney P. Osborn won the first of his four terms as governor of Arizona in 1940. In New Mexico John E. Miles was easily re-elected to a second term as governor in 1940. Public works projects and the development of military installations dramatically altered the economies of both these states during the Roosevelt years. Arizona's population doubled while Osborn was governor, aggravating the state's chronic water shortage. Under the Arizona constitution Osborn had little power in dealing with the legislature. To overcome this critical disadvantage in a time of rapid economic change he adopted the technique of FDR and our current president - a series of radio addresses to the public. This so irritated the legislature that they considered impeaching the governor on charges of financial misconduct.

The 1932 campaign for governor in Texas produced an unusual pair of name pins, since both major party candidates identified with the Roosevelt-Garner ticket. James E. Ferguson was elected governor in 1914 and 1916 but he resigned in 1917 under threat of impeachment for misappropriating state funds. In 1920 he accepted the Presidential nomination of the anti-Catholic American or "Know-Nothing" party, a remnant of an 1850's political movement. When he could not clear his name before the 1924 election, his wife Miriam, "Ma", Ferguson was nominated. She became the second woman governor, (Nellie Tayloe Ross became the first woman governor when she succeeded her husband in Wyoming in October, 1924. She was elected in 1924 to the rest of her husband's term) but the first woman elected governor was Miriam "Ma" Ferguson of Texas. She served a two year term and returned to seek another in 1932. Anti-Ferguson Democrats distributed the Bullington items, but on election day "Ma" Ferguson defeated Republican Orville Bullington by nearly 200,000 votes.

Nine years later an ambitious young congressman known as "Roosevelt's Boy" on Capitol Hill tried to move up to the Senate after five years in the House. Lyndon Johnson's campaigners erected billboards and distributed buttons advertising "Me and Roosevelt for Johnson" during that 1941 race. Johnson lost the four man special election to Governor Lee O'Daniel by 1300 votes out of 571,000 and remained in the House. Seven years later Johnson squeaked through a primary election to gain the Senate nomination and subsequently a Senate seat which catapulted him to national prominence and leadership (see article on F.D.R. and L.B.J.).

Campaigns in the Far West produced at least three name pins and a scarce jugate. Monrad C. Wallgren, a jeweler from Everett, Washington, was elected to Congress in 1932 and to the three succeeding terms. In 1940 he moved over to the Senate. Four years later he returned to Washington to campaign for governor and defeated incumbent Arthur Langlie by three percent of the vote. In 1948, Langlie defeated Wallgren by the same margin. President Truman then named Wallgren to the Federal Power Commission. Nan Wood Honeyman of Portland, Oregon, was elected to Con-

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LABOR WANTS
ROOSEVELT
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NEELY
ROOSEVELT
KILGORE

NEELY
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ROOSEVELT
HERSHEY

INDEPENDENT
VOTERS
For
ROOSEVELT
LUCAS
DOUGLAS
and
ROWAN

ROOSEVELT
HERSHEY

ROOSEVELT
HERSHEY

BALDRIDGE

NEELY
KILGORE

ROOSEVELT
WILSON

CLARK
ROOSEVELT
PARK
AND
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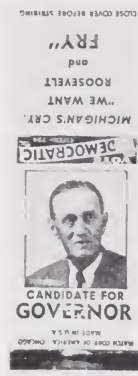
ROOSEVELT

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FITZGERALD

ROOSEVELT
FITZGERALD

ROOSEVELT
AND
LUCAS



ROOSEVELT
PULL 2ND LEVER
SCHRICKER



ROOSEVELT
PULL 2ND LEVER
JACKSON



"Vic"
HASSON
for SENATOR



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VOTE

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to

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VOTE FOR ROOSEVELT TRUMAN WENE HART

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MURPHY · NEAL
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gress in 1936. She lost very close races to Republican Homer Angell in 1938 and 1940. Sheridan Downey was elected to a second term as U. S. Senator from California in 1944. He defeated Frederick Houser, who had lost three congressional races before challenging Downey. The jugate picturing Henry H. Blood with FDR is from Utah. Blood was elected governor in 1932 and 1936. To promote "Economic Security" he worked closely with the Roosevelt administration to obtain many CCC and WPA projects for his state. Revenue from these, frugal management, and a modest sales tax enabled him to reduce Utah's indebtedness by two thirds during his eight years in office.

To complete the record, we appeal to readers to inform us of unreported FDR coattail items and to help us identify the

candidates on items shown here whom we have not identified—Gore of West Virginia, the New Jersey candidates with Gorman, Vic Hasson, Bombace, Luna, and Burke (November 7 was election day in 1944).

Pictured items not identified in article: Edison, Charles: son of inventor Thomas A. Edison, elected Governor of N.J. 1940. Fry, Edward: lost Michigan 1944 gubernatorial race to Harry Kelly. Sabath, Adolf: Czechoslovakian immigrant,

served in Congress from 1907 to his death in 1952 representing Illinois' south side Chicago district. Wene, Elmer: lost N.J. 1944 Senate race after serving three terms in the House. Murphy, Frank: elected Governor of Michigan in '36, and lost that seat in '38. He was appointed U. S. Attorney General in early 1939 and then appointed to U. S. Supreme Court in 1940. Hughes, Richard J.: After serving three terms from Trenton N. J. House District, Hughes lost his seat in 1938 to Lane Powers. ★

ROOSEVELT
MORE THAN EVER
YOUR STRAIGHT
DEMOCRATIC

ROOSEVELT
RE-DEVELOP
THE NATION

VICTORY CUP
ICE CREAM
DURN'S CREAMERY
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MILWAUKEE, WIS.

HOOPER
DEPRESSION
SKULLCAP
1937

PUZZLE
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that NATIONAL CAPS
are the **NATION'S CHOICE**
NATIONAL IS THE CAP-ITOL FOR BOTTLE CAPS
HONORED and RESPECTED Throughout the NATION
MADISON, WIS. 53703

BE PROUD OF
YOUR CANDIDATE
Wear YOUR
BUTTON
IT'S A
NATIONAL
CAP

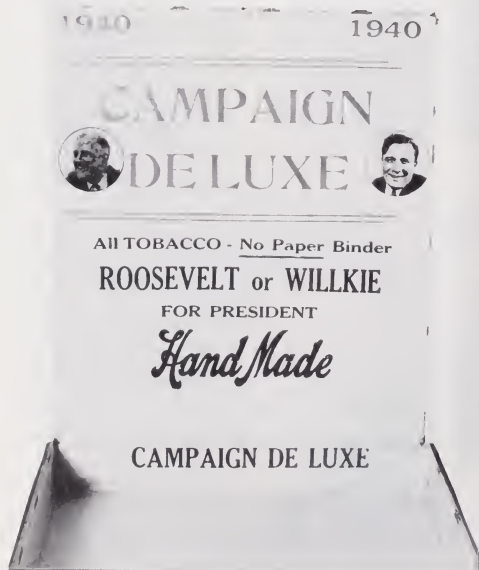
CAMPAIGN BUTTONS ARE GOOD ADVERTISING
1¢ EACH

NEW DEAL
PROSPERITY
IN FULL HARMONY
HAPPY AGAIN
HAPPINESS RESTORED
IN FULL SWING
BACK TO WORK

Needle ~ Book

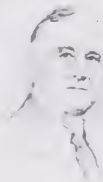


Roosevelt
and
Garner



ROOSEVELT





F.D.R. AND L.B.J.

A CASE STUDY IN MUTUAL ADMIRATION

by ROBERT M. PLATT

Lyndon Johnson made his debut in Washington as a legislative secretary to Representative Richard Kleberg in 1931. The newly elected Kleberg, one of the millionaire owners of the famous King Ranch, and his wife were eager to participate in the social life of Washington. Luckily for Kleberg, his twenty-three year old assistant was ambitious, alert, and equally anxious to master both the personalities and mechanisms of influence in the federal government. Among Johnson's early coups was getting himself elected as chairman of the "little congress," an informal organization of congressional secretaries. From this vantage point he made many personal acquaintances and learned much about the preferences, peeves, and special projects dear to the hearts of particular congressmen, information that was to serve him well in later years.

The 1932 Democratic landslide brought the re-election of Kleberg and the coming to power of Franklin D. Roosevelt. As the new administration unveiled and implemented its programs, Johnson watched with admiration and soon became an enthusiastic supporter of New Deal initiatives. FDR became his alter ego. While working for Kleberg and studying law at Georgetown University, Johnson came to be "on the outs" with Mrs. Kleberg and, early in 1935, quit the position that had brought him to Washington. Taking his place was his brother, Sam Houston Johnson.

In June, 1935, President Roosevelt created the National Youth Administration by executive order. The agency was authorized to set up programs on a state by state basis to provide work for unemployed youths and assistance to keep young men in high schools and colleges. Roosevelt signed the order on a Tuesday morning and that afternoon LBJ telephoned Sam Rayburn, Representative Maury Maverick, and senators Tom Connally and Alvin Wirtz to seek their support in his candidacy for the directorship of the NYA program in Texas. He received the job, becoming the youngest NYA state director in the nation. In this capacity he built a constituency for later elections, while at the same time attracting the attention of first lady Eleanor Roosevelt, the "godmother" of NYA. Within six months eighteen thousand young Texans were busily at work constructing parks and buildings, painting murals, planting grass, and performing other public works jobs. National NYA Director Aubrey Williams called LBJ "the best director I had." On a visit to Texas Mrs. Roosevelt called the Austin NYA office to seek a meeting with "this brilliant young man." Indeed, the Texas program was exemplary and attracted many out-of-state visitors.

One day, while escorting a visiting dignitary on a tour of the Texas NYA facilities, Johnson spotted a Houston Post headline: "Congressman James P. Buchanan of Brennan Dies." Buchanan had served the Tenth District since 1913. With his death on February 22, 1937, Johnson saw his oppor-

tunity to go to Congress. After brief conversations with Lady Bird and Senator Wirtz, LBJ decided to seek Buchanan's seat in a special election called for April 10, 1937. His was one of ten names on the ballot, seven of them with strong political bases and name recognition. Johnson needed an issue. Wirtz, now LBJ's campaign manager, came up with a theme to LBJ's liking—the issue would be FDR.

In the spring of 1937 Roosevelt was in the midst of his war against the "nine old men" on the Supreme Court. Much of the National Industrial Recovery Act had just been declared unconstitutional, the latest in a succession of decisions hostile to the New Deal. In response FDR proposed to expand the Court to fifteen members, allowing him to appoint six new justices more sympathetic to his programs. The proposal raised the dander of conservatives, Democrat and Republican alike. They referred to it as "packing the Court" and damned it as "tampering with the Constitution." In a two-man race in conservative Texas, an endorsement of the idea would have been political suicide, but with ten names on the ballot it was a different story. Johnson and his entourage covered the district, his speeches sounding a repetitive refrain: "I'm not seventy percent for Roosevelt, nor ninety percent. I'm for FDR one hundred percent!" Or he would remark: "I don't have to hang back like a steer on the way to the dipping vat. I'm for the President. When he calls on me for help, I'll be where I can give him a quick lift, not out in the woods practicing a quick way to duck." The strategy worked. At the end of a forty-two day campaign, the voters of the Tenth District gave LBJ a plurality of two to one over his nearest rival.

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POSTCARD



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VOTE FOR

Lyndon B. Johnson

and help

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Defend America from

Enemy Bombs

CARD DROPPED FROM AIRPLANE

The election attracted national attention. Walter Winchell and Lowell Thomas commented on it regularly and the front page of the April 11, 1937, *New York Times* reported the victory of "Youthful Lyndon Johnson, who shouted his advocacy of President Roosevelt's Court reorganization all over the 10th Texas district." Roosevelt himself was well aware that LBJ was staking his political future on FDR at a somewhat precarious time. On a fishing cruise in the Gulf of Mexico at the time of the election, FDR invited LBJ to join the presidential party at Galveston. Their first meeting ever has been described as a "chummy personal encounter." It must have been, for FDR had the young congressman ride next to him in the presidential limosine going to the railroad station and to further accompany him on the train as far as Texarkana. According to one version, they discussed ships and naval affairs and Roosevelt told LBJ, "If you ever have any trouble getting things for your district, just come straight to the White House and talk to Tommy Corcoran or Sam Rosenman. I'll tell them to take good care of you."

On May 11, 1937, Johnson boarded a train to Washington, launching a career that would finally lead to the presidency itself. His father's farewell was, "Now you get up there. Support FDR all the way. Never shimmy. And give 'em hell!" With Tom Corcoran's telephone number in his pocket, Johnson had an entree to the White House from the start. He was soon named to the prestigious Naval Affairs Committee, with the President setting the stage for the appointment. Johnson's votes always supported the Roosevelt program (he was nicknamed, in fact, "Roosevelt's boy"). He was a complete New Dealer. During his first year as a congressman LBJ kept a low profile, deferring to his elders and making no speeches. Instead, he was busy making friends and getting things done for his district. During the 1937 session he secured loans for district farmers and funds for a

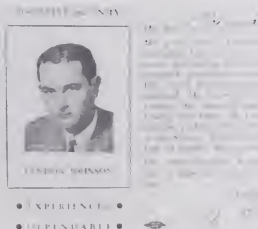


CAMPAIGN BROCHURE

federal building in Elgin, a school in Johnson City, and a fire station and city hall in Austin. Lockhart received postal service for the first time.

When Congress reconvened, Johnson prevailed upon the Department of Agriculture to increase feed acreage quotas in Texas by thirty percent. The Pedernales Cooperative River Authority was approved because of the direct intervention of FDR, who waived a population density requirement the region could not meet. More than 1700 miles of power lines were strung at a cost of more than \$1.33 million in this one project alone. The role that his friendship with FDR played in LBJ's accomplishments was enormous. New York, New Orleans, and Austin were the first three cities to get federal aid for slum clearance and low-rent housing. Schools, hospitals, post offices, bridges, and parks were the "perks" for a loyal supporter, and "Roosevelt willows" dotted the region to prevent soil erosion.

As FDR's second term drew to a close John Nance Garner was launching a presidential effort and the Texas congressional delegation wanted to pass a resolution of endorsement. Unsure of FDR's intent, Johnson stood firm for the president and the resolution was never adopted. 1940 was for all appearances a bleak year for House Democrats, with FDR's popularity waning. Unable to secure an older member



POSTCARD



WINDOW STICKER

of the House to take charge, FDR finally named Johnson to serve as congressional campaign manager for House Democratic candidates. LBJ personally called every one to offer support and then raised thousands of dollars for the party. His efforts helped turn the tide, for instead of surrendering seats the Democrats actually gained a few. FDR was immensely pleased. A year later he would be in a good position to return the favor.

Probably no special election in American history was more of a coattail affair than the one called for June 28, 1941, to elect a new U. S. senator from Texas. 29 candidates announced for the contest and all but two appeared on the ballot. Among the better known contenders were two-term Governor W. Lee ("Pappy") O'Daniel; Representative Martin Dies, chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee; Attorney General Gerald Mann, a former Longhorn football hero; "Cyclone" Davis, a populist foe of the Dallas News; Reverend Samuel Morris of Voice of Temperance renown; John R. Brinkley, a physician who claimed to be able to restore waning virility; and Representative Lyndon B. Johnson.

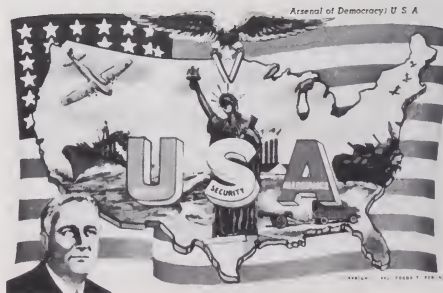
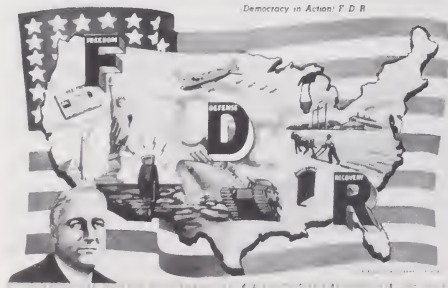
The death of Senator Morris Sheppard on April 9, 1941, gave LBJ his first opportunity to become a U. S. senator. His campaign was orchestrated from Washington from the beginning. As an FDR protege, he announced his candidacy on the White House steps and minutes later Roosevelt stated during a press conference, "To be truthful, Lyndon Johnson is a very, very old friend of mine." Henry Young, an aide to Vice President Henry Wallace, became Johnson's campaign manager. LBJ was hailed in the press as "Roosevelt's Man." His campaign theme was "Roosevelt and Unity." A headline in the Dallas News declared, "FDR PICKS JOHNSON TO DEFEAT DIES." Campaign buttons, posters, pamphlets, broadsides and postcards were used to promote Johnson as Roosevelt's choice. Campaign expenses totaled \$11,818.53 (a massive sum compared to the winner's \$1,783.30). The illustrations to this article show clearly the thrust of the 1941 Johnson campaign.

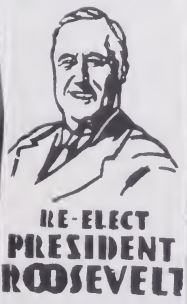
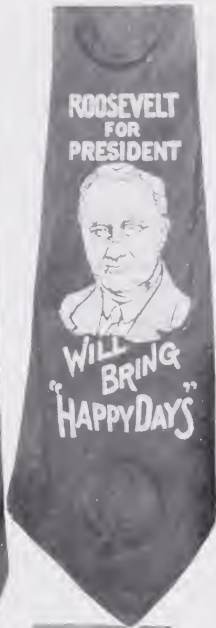
A political nonentity when he first sought the governorship in 1938, W. Lee O'Daniel had moved to Fort Worth in

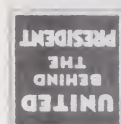
1925 to become a flour salesman for a local grain elevator company. His employer sponsored a radio program featuring Bob Wills and the Light Crust Doughboys, with O'Daniel as master of ceremonies. He later bought his own flour business, producing "Hillbilly Flour," promoted by his band the "Hillbilly Boys" on a radio show with an estimated daily audience of more than a million. On the advice of some fifty thousand radio fans O'Daniel entered the 1938 Texas race for governor and on election day carried 231 of the state's 254 counties. Two years later he was returned to office. One opponent called him "a misplaced musician who crooned his way into the governor's office and has been giving the people of Texas a song and dance ever since." Another adversary is reported to have said:

"I don't yodel. . . O'Daniel was elected by accident. He started out to run for governor to advertise his flour business. People laughed and voted for him and the first thing they knew he was elected governor. I will admit he fooled me. I spent all my time last election fighting in a cloud of flour dust like a freight train passing a tramp."

It was this same W. Lee O'Daniel who spoiled LBJ's first bid for the Senate. Many leading Texas Democrats favored O'Daniel simply to get him out of Austin to faraway Washington, where he could do less harm. But the election was also something of a referendum on FDR in Texas. O'Daniel narrowly defeated LBJ 175,590 to 174,279 with Mann winning 140,807 votes and Dies 80,601. FDR's popularity had waned to the point where he would carry Texas and the nation one more time in 1944, but his coattails could not elect a protege to the Senate from Texas in 1941. ★







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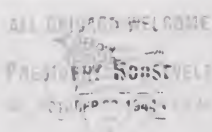
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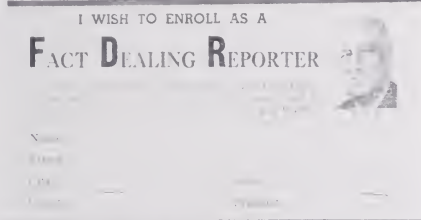
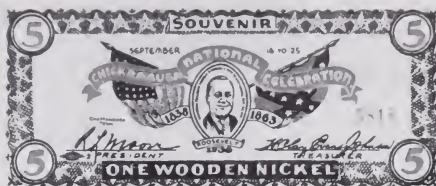
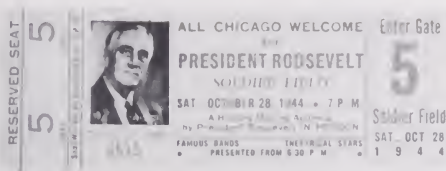
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35

No. Admit One

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 TESTIMONIAL OF THEIR AFFECTION FOR
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GOV. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
 Democratic Nominee For The Presidency
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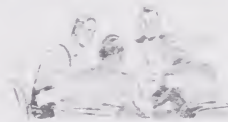
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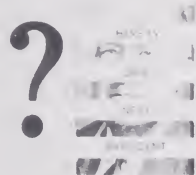
Support Our Commander-in-Chief

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FOR LABOR PARTY



Primary Day March 28th. 1944

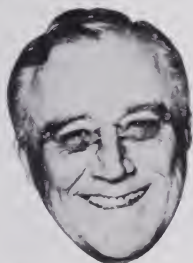


TOO SMALL FOR THE PLACE!

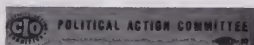


Thomas E. Dewey
G.O.P. Candidate for President
U. S. A. 1944

PAC NEEDS



A DOLLAR YOU WON'T MISS
TO ELECT A MAN
YOU CAN'T AFFORD TO LOSE



WHO WANTS WILLKIE?

LABOR HATERS

LABOR BAITERS

LABOR TRAITORS

Ever had
He Wants
ROOSEVELT WALLACE-MEAD

VOTE ROW C — AMERICAN LABOR PARTY



"A NATION DANCES SO THAT OTHERS MIGHT WALK"

THE ROOSEVELT BIRTHDAY BALLS 1934 - 1945

by ROBERT ROUSE

Polio has afflicted mankind since the time of the Pharaohs but it was unknown, or, more than likely, unidentified in the United States until 1894, when there was an epidemic in Vermont. Curiously, polio increased as indoor plumbing and other personal hygiene improvements became more widespread. This is explained by the fact that most polio infection occurred in infancy but little damage resulted. Paralysis is rare in infants and the experience tended to immunize the child against later attacks. However, recovery from infection caused by one strain of virus often did not immunize an individual against future infection from two other strains of polio virus. All three strains work in the same way: after entering the body the virus lurks in the blood stream briefly before passing into the nervous system, where it attacks the spine and brain. As hygiene practices improved, many infants were protected from early infection only to contract the disease at a later age, when they were more susceptible to paralysis.

In the United States widespread fear of infantile paralysis began in the summer of 1916, when an epidemic claimed 6,000 lives and paralyzed 27,000 others. In New York City panic spread quickly as the epidemic took 2,000 lives. Armed guards in the suburbs tried to prevent city dwellers from stopping or staying in their jurisdictions. Police broke into homes to take suspected carriers into custody. Cats and dogs were impounded because they were mistakenly believed to spread the infection. Ambulances could not transport all the victims to hospitals, yet parents who carried a stricken child through the streets seeking help risked jail for endangering the public health. Philadelphia and Boston also suffered greatly during the epidemic of 1916.

Cures were offered by quacks and opportunists. A mania for ox blood seized New Yorkers after a rumor attributed to it the power to allay the disease. A former state legislator sold bags of cedar shavings to ward off the evil. People wanted a cure. And as the years went on and the epidemics became more virulent, a cure was all the more desperately sought.

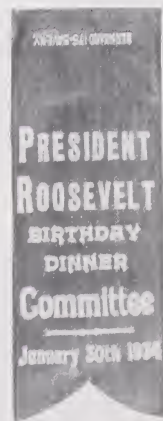
Polio epidemics slowly became part of life in the United States after 1916. Outbreaks were sporadic and unpredictable. More than 10,000 cases were recorded in 1916, 1927, 1931, and 1940-44. From 1945-49 cases soared to 24,000 per year!

Franklin Roosevelt contracted polio in August, 1921, at the age of 39. The Cox-Roosevelt ticket was swamped the previous November and Roosevelt was out of public life for the first time in ten years. He was working for Van-Lear Black, a wealthy Baltimore financier, as vice president of the third largest surety bonding company in the U. S. Roosevelt spent only his mornings working "as one of the younger capitalists;" afternoons he took an active role in the newly formed law firm of Emmet, Marvin and Roosevelt. He was also active in political, social, and charitable organizations—public appearances served to keep him

known. Politically, he pushed the party to rebuild in upstate New York, where Harding had won some areas by three, four and even five-to-one in 1920. Roosevelt's personal interest in this was obvious, since he seemed to be the leading contender for the 1922 Senate nomination.

Roosevelt took a mid-summer respite from all this activity on Campobello Island, New Brunswick, Canada. The vacation was interrupted when a subcommittee on the Senate Naval Affairs Committee consisting of two Republicans and a Democrat leaked information from their investigation of a sordid affair which occurred at the Newport, Rhode Island, Naval Training Station in 1919, when Roosevelt was Assistant Secretary of the Navy. Frank Freidel recounts the ensuing events in Volume II of his FDR biography, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Ordeal* (Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1954).

Overwrought, Roosevelt dashed to Washington, and found all the cards stacked against him. The two Republican committee members, Heisler Ball of Delaware and Henry Keyes of New Hampshire, told him they thought it unnecessary to let him testify on his own behalf, since he had already appeared before the Navy Board. Finally they did agree to give him a few hours to examine the fifteen volumes and six thousand pages of testimony before the committee and to allow him to submit a statement. They promised to wait until eight in the evening for his statement, but even before that hour they gave their unamended majority report to the newspapers for release the following afternoon. It was so scurrilously denunciatory of Roosevelt and his



COMMITTEE

Birthday
Party

for

The
President

Auditorium
Jan. 30, 1935

former superior, Navy Secretary Josephus Daniels, that the usually austere New York Times ran a headline on July 20, 1921: LAY NAVY SCANDAL TO F. D. ROOSEVELT, DETAILS UNPRINTABLE.

The Republican majority report quoted the finding of the Navy's court-martial on the question of Roosevelt's knowing that vice investigators were engaging in sodomy in order to trap homosexuals. The court-martial had held Roosevelt's actions to be "unfortunate and ill-advised"—a statement quite objectionable to Roosevelt. The majority report went further, and labeled it "a most deplorable, disgraceful and unnatural proceeding."

For hours Roosevelt worked with pencil on legal foolscap preparing an emphatic refutation of the charges. The subcommittee paid no attention to it, or to his request for an open hearing before the entire Naval Affairs Committee. However, the lone Democratic Senator on the subcommittee, William King of Utah, issued a minority report criticizing his colleagues for being unjust. In addition, Roosevelt prepared a press statement to vitiate the very unfavorable publicity. "As an American, one deplores bad faith and a conscious perversion of facts on the part of any Senator," he asserted. "As an American, irrespective of party, one hates to see the United States Navy . . . used as the vehicle for cheap ward politics."

The Republican Senators had overreached themselves. The violent and preposterously partisan nature of their report dulled its effect. "That Senate business is pretty lowdown stuff, but as a matter of fact," Roosevelt privately predicted, "in the long run, it will only hurt those mean and dishonorable enough to stoop to deliberate falsification for the sake of politics." The charges were, indeed, soon forgotten; but understandably they deeply upset Roosevelt at the time.

Despite his appearance of vitality and excellent health, Roosevelt was, he later admitted, thoroughly fatigued. The unpleasantness in Washington had forced him to cut short his vacation at Campbello; at the end of July he returned there. On the way back to Campbello Roosevelt took the wheel of his host's yacht because the captain did not know the Bay of Fundy waters and the fog made the trip doubly hazardous for the vessel. The next day while fishing in the Bay Roosevelt slipped overboard. He later recalled, "I had never felt anything so cold as that water! I hardly went under . . . but the water was so cold it seemed paralyzing." On August 10, 1921, Roosevelt did not feel well. Nevertheless, he went sailing and spent the afternoon trying to extinguish a forest fire on one of the islands. To relieve his fatigue he decided on a swim, first in a fresh water lagoon, then a dip in the frigid waters of the Bay. "I didn't feel the usual reaction, the glow I'd expected," Roosevelt recalled. "When I reached the house the mail was in, with several newspapers I hadn't seen. I sat reading for a while, too tired even to dress. I'd never felt quite that way before." During supper, Roosevelt quietly remarked that he thought he had a slight attack of lumbago, excused himself and went upstairs to bed. "The next morning when I swung out of bed my left leg lagged but I managed to move about and to shave. I tried to persuade myself that the trouble with my leg was muscular, that it would disappear as I used it. But presently it refused to work, and then the other."

The next morning, Friday, August 12, Roosevelt could not stand up, and by evening had even lost the power to move his legs. They were numb, but very sensitive to the touch. He

ached all over, he was at least partly paralyzed from the chest down, and his thumb muscles had become so weak that he could not write. By Saturday, Mrs. Roosevelt and Dr. Bennett decided they must call a consultant. They located a famous elderly specialist, Dr. W. W. Keen of Philadelphia, who was staying at Bar Harbor. He diagnosed the paralysis as due to a blood clot in the lower spinal cord, prescribed heavy massage, predicted that Roosevelt would recover, though perhaps not for a long time—and sent a bill for six hundred dollars. Mrs. Roosevelt sent to New York for a masseuse; meanwhile she and Howe massaged her husband as best they could. The heavy kneading of his feet and lower legs was exceedingly painful to him, since they were hypersensitive. Still worse, it was exactly the wrong treatment, and further damaged the muscles.

For several days, he continued to have a serious fever and to show no improvement. A week after the first chill, his temperature returned to normal, and despite the acute depression that normally accompanied this illness, Roosevelt's spirits bobbed upward. Whatever the dark feelings Roosevelt must have had, he kept them to himself at the time. Years later he confided to Frances Perkins that for the first few days he had been in utter despair, feeling that God had abandoned him. Then his buoyancy and strong religious faith reasserted themselves; he felt that he must have been shattered and spared for a purpose beyond his knowledge. As he had been brought up to do, he displayed none of the black side of his feelings to his family; incredibly soon he was making light of his affliction. On August 25, Dr. Robert W. Lovett, a Boston specialist on poliomyelitis, arrived and confirmed the disease as infantile paralysis. He stopped the massaging and suggested hot baths. Fortunately for Roosevelt's morale, Dr. Lovett considered it a mild attack and thought Roosevelt might recover completely.

The first stage of the illness was over, and Roosevelt was ready to begin working to regain the use of his legs. Even more important to him than this was the question of whether he would be able to return to his career. Sara Roosevelt, his mother, firmly believed that for him to do so would kill him, and strongly voiced her opinion that he should not. Her son was an invalid; and invalid he would continue to be. Therefore he should give up all thought of future participation in business and politics. He had had a brilliant career already, even though he was only thirty-nine.

Roosevelt would have none of this. The struggle against his mother's wish for him to retire went on for months, but fortunately he did not have to fight it alone. Eleanor Roosevelt thought that if it had been a necessity for him to retire he could have done it and not been unhappy. However, it was not necessary; she, Howe, and Dr. George Draper, who was taking over the treatment, felt that for Roosevelt to retire would be "a terrible waste," and fortified him with spirits as indomitable as his own. Even before Roosevelt was sure he had infantile paralysis, he was impatient to return to his career. Within two weeks after the attack, Mrs. Roosevelt was planning to move him to New York City for treatments because, "if, as he hopes, he can carry on his various business activities it can only be done there." On August 22, he authorized the President of Vassar College to name him to a committee for an endowment drive, and on September 12, he accepted membership on the Executive Committee of the Democratic Party in New York State. Thus, there was literally no period when he was out of public life. He came to a determination to go on and make a further career for him-

self, Mrs. Roosevelt has said, "at a time when he was lying in bed and working for hours to try to wiggle a big toe."

But the months of pain and strain were by no means over. In January, 1922, the muscles behind his knees began to tighten and pull his legs up under him. Dr. Draper had to put both legs into plaster casts. During two weeks of agony, wedges, driven a bit deeper each day, stretched the tendons back.

In February, Roosevelt was able to put on braces of steel weighing seven pounds each, and stretching from his hips to his shoes. With the aid of these, he slowly learned to stand up once more and to walk with crutches. He was not really walking, but maneuvering himself with his hips. With determination and enthusiasm, he began gentle exercises that he hoped in time would rebuild the strength of his leg muscles.

According to Dr. Ross McIntire, FDR's personal physician during his White House years (who published an excellent account of FDR's struggle against polio entitled "Unconquerable Spirit" in the February 2, 1946, issue of *Collier's*), by summer he had progressed sufficiently to insist on crutches. In the quiet of Hyde Park he spent patient, painful hours developing his muscles. Keeping his pledge to never accept invalidism, he took the presidency of the Boy Scout Foundation and the chairmanship of an American Legion campaign. As movement became easier, he resumed his old interest in national affairs. The Democratic convention in 1924, however, was his first public appearance since his attack, and when he stood up in Madison Square Garden and made the stirring "Happy Warrior" speech that placed Governor Al Smith in nomination, even diehard anti-Smith delegates cheered FDR for his courage.

Sometime during that summer George Foster Peabody, the banker and philanthropist, had bought an old health resort at Warm Springs, in western Georgia. Its chief feature was a pool with a temperature of 89° and a very high specific gravity due to double molecules of magnesium and calcium, thus making this water much more buoyant or supportive than ordinary water. Peabody advised FDR that many polio victims had received marked benefits there. Genuinely impressed, FDR went to Warm Springs that fall. There was no physician in charge at the time, so he evolved his own methods of treatment. He taught himself to use his legs in the water, to get his feet down and walk around on the bottom. He varied this by clinging to the side of the pool and going through exercises to stretch his atrophied muscles. In six weeks he made more progress than in the entire three years since Campobello. Convinced of the curative value of the waters and eager to have other victims of infantile paralysis receive the benefits, FDR brought Warm Springs to the attention of the Orthopedic Association at a meeting in Atlanta. Upon receiving a favorable report, he bought the property from Peabody and incorporated the Georgia Warm Springs Foundation as a nonprofit institution. Approximately 1200 acres were taken over, along with the buildings. Fully two thirds of FDR's personal fortune was committed to the project.

In 1928 he went to Houston to place Smith's name in nomination for a second time. The movement to draft Roosevelt for the New York gubernatorial race not only began without his knowledge, but met with his instant and vigorous protest. At the time he was beginning to walk without the aid of even a cane (according to McIntire, although Frank Freidel has insisted that FDR never walked again

after he was afflicted with polio), and his physicians assured him that if he maintained his swimming and exercised and avoided the cold northern winters, he might expect increasing improvement.

Once committed to the race, he campaigned with vigor and zest, making as many as fifteen speeches a day. While Smith succumbed to the Hoover landslide, losing even his native New York, Roosevelt won the governorship. As he had feared, braces became a necessity and their weight distorted muscles and put increased strain on his back. Moreover, the press of official duties led to the neglect of his physical condition, compelling him to depend too much on his crutches and too little on systematic exercise. He was



counting upon retirement after one term or possibly two. Hoover's election lifted Republicanism to an all-time zenith and Democratic prospects were so hopeless that many were prophesying the party's dissolution. October, 1929, altered this state of affairs suddenly and dramatically.

In 1932, as in 1928, FDR was faced with a momentous decision. First, there was the strain of a nation-wide campaign, and in the event of victory, the burdens of the office. Clearly, inescapably, he realized that a declaration of candidacy meant the surrender of his hope for complete recovery and painful years of dependence on the braces he hated so much.

The year 1924 was significant for FDR in three respects. His first public appearance in nearly three years at the national convention and his first visit to Warm Springs have been mentioned. The third event was the formation of the law firm of Roosevelt and O'Connor in December. Basil O'Connor was a vigorous young lawyer whom Roosevelt admired after sharing many clients with him. He guaranteed Roosevelt \$10,000 per year from the new firm. The arrangement proved to be a lasting one. O'Connor summarized this experience with FDR in a 1960 interview: "I was drafted," he said, "George Foster Peabody had this old broken-down resort in Warm Springs, Georgia, and Roosevelt got the idea that the swimming was helping his paralyzed muscles. He bought the place to help other polio patients. We went down in 1924 and I thought he was crazy to want that big goddam four-story firetrap with the squirrels running in and out of the holes in the roof. I couldn't have been less interested in the project. But in 1928 he ups and becomes Governor of New York and nonchalantly says to me, 'Take over Warm Springs, old fella: you're in.' I tell you I had no desire to be 'in.' I was never a public do-gooder and had no aspirations of that kind. But like Stonewall Jackson I found myself up to my rump in blood and liked it." The Warm Springs job and a



WILLIAM FALL

Reception Committee



Red Cross assignment were the only positions O'Connor accepted from Roosevelt. He could have been in the Cabinet, but he declined; he considered himself a lawyer, not a politician.

The national campaign against polio began germinating in 1933. As treasurer of the Warm Springs Foundation, O'Connor was at a loss to improve its calamitous finances, when a pair of astute, ambitious businessmen, Henry L. Doherty and Carl Byoir, came to the rescue. In the words of one rival: "Doherty was a shrewd and aggressive iconoclast with an uncanny knack for knowing which way the wind was blowing while his competitors were still holding their moistened fingers in the air." Family adversities forced him to leave school at 12, and, he liked to explain, "My preliminary education was largely obtained from the study of catalogs and handbooks." In 1896, at the age of 26, he was Chief Engineer in the Columbus (Ohio) Gas Company; by 1905 he was an expert in public utility operations and a millionaire. He moved to New York and organized Henry L. Doherty and Company. Five years later he founded Cities Service Company, a holding company for more than 190 public utility and petroleum properties combining assets of more than a billion dollars. Doherty was now a recognized leader in gas, electricity and petroleum; associates called him a human dynamo. When one group left Mr. Doherty's home at midnight, others were waiting to confer with him; (business conferences were as likely to be at 2 a.m. as at 2 p.m.) His assets were reported to be \$200,000,000 in 1929. When the collapse of Florida real estate sent droves of operators scurrying, Doherty stepped in and bought up 11,000 once valuable properties for the proverbial song. He then started an enthusiastic campaign for Florida's return to prosperity and soon, in those lean depression years, found his holdings worth \$25,000,000. In addition to tending his own holdings he served on more corporate boards of directors than any

other man in America—an incredible 123 at the time of his death in 1939! Doherty did not share the newly inaugurated Roosevelt's notion that there was nothing to fear but fear itself. He sought to disarm the President with friendship. He wanted access to the Oval Office. Byoir, his public relations man, proposed the idea of dances to celebrate the President's birthday and raise money for Warm Springs. Doherty was charmed. If this did not earn him Roosevelt's permanent gratitude, nothing would. (It didn't. When Doherty tried to cash in on this "favor" to Roosevelt, suggesting legislation favorable to his own interests, he was ignored.) O'Connor also was charmed. He needed money for Warm Springs.

Doherty donated \$25,000 to create the National Committee for the Birthday Ball for the President. Most of the work was done by Byoir and Keith L. Morgan, a wealthy insurance man who was also a Warm Springs trustee and friend of Roosevelt. The Waldorf-Astoria was national headquarters, and the letterhead said:

ORGANIZED FOR THE PURPOSE OF ARRANGING, THROUGH LOCAL COOPERATION, A BALL IN HONOR OF PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, TO BE HELD IN EVERY CITY AND TOWN IN THE UNITED STATES, ON THE OCCASION OF HIS FIFTY-SECOND BIRTHDAY, TUESDAY, JANUARY 30, 1934. THE PROCEEDS OF THIS NATIONAL EVENT WILL BE PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT TO ENDOW THE WARM SPRINGS FOUNDATION, SO THAT IT MAY CARRY ON ITS NATION-WIDE WORK FOR THE RELIEF OF SUFFERERS FROM INFANTILE PARALYSIS.

Byoir flooded the nation's press and radio with publicity material. Democrats, especially postmasters and collectors of internal revenue, rallied to organize local balls. "We couldn't wait to find out where the Republicans were," explained a member of the national committee. But the first balls were not as Democratic as they thought. Roosevelt was everybody's President at that time. He had not yet become "That Man." Bankers and industrialists were still grateful for the decisive steps he had taken to save their necks after his inauguration. Republicans actively participated in local committees in many cities. The 1934 balls transcended their original purpose and became a national celebration of the fresh hope that Americans felt for their country, as well as an honor to Roosevelt and an occasion to "dance so that others may walk," in the words of a New York Times reporter.

Hundreds of thousands of persons joined in these tributes throughout the nation and, the Times reported on the morning after,

"in the icy reaches of Alaska and Admiral Byrd's camp in Little America, in Hawaii, the West Indies and the Canal Zone, wherever the Stars and Stripes flies... a turn-out of the whole people, not only in the gorgeous setting of the great ball at the Waldorf-Astoria, but in all sorts of meeting places in smaller cities and rural communities—school auditoriums, churches, gymnasiums, fire houses, community clubs, lodge buildings, hotels and theatres everywhere. There were gatherings as large as 5000 at the Waldorf-Astoria, and as small as fifteen couples, in a little town in Illinois."

Roosevelt thanked the people over the biggest radio network in history. Speaking "as the representative... of the hundreds of thousands of crippled children in our country," he predicted that "it remains... only to spread the gospel for the care and cure of crippled children in every part of this

kindly land to enable us to make the same relative progress that we have already made in the field of tuberculosis." He concluded: "It is with a humble and thankful heart that I accept this tribute through me to the stricken ones of our great national family. I thank you but lack the words to tell you how deeply I appreciate what you have done and I bid you good night on what is to me the happiest birthday I have ever known."

The national committee collected \$1,049,577.45 from 4376 communities that held almost 600 separate celebrations. After deducting expenses the committee was able to present a check for more than a million dollars to the President at a ceremony in the White House. He looked at the check, smiled happily, handed it to O'Connor and quipped, "And now I am going to appoint you all a committee of the whole to watch Doc O'Connor."

Dr. Michael Hoke, surgeon in chief at Warm Springs, thought the birthday fanfare was disastrous. He was angry that the medical methods used at his institution had been publicized, dismayed that patients had been interviewed on the radio, horrified that polio sufferers throughout the country had been misled to think that they could come to Warm Springs, where there was no room for them, and be cured, which was impossible. He wrote to Marguerite Le Hand, the President's secretary, of the "enormous number of letters that no sane person can answer from all sorts of poor derelicts all over the United States who couldn't be helped here.. ."

The next ball, in 1935, raised only \$750,000 and less than \$573,000 was contributed in 1936. Keith Morgan blamed the "falling off of the President's universal popularity, particularly among the class of people accustomed to giving larger sums of money." He was right. Conservatives were disenchanting with Roosevelt and the New Deal. Some newspapers published dutiful editorials questioning the suitability of the annual dances; Governor Talmadge of Georgia entered the health world by calling Warm Springs a "racket" in a letter that was given wide circulation; mendacious gossip that the Roosevelt family bled profits from the polio institution was repeated in syndicated columns.

O'Connor, Morgan, and other Warm Springs trustees realized that Roosevelt and the anti-polio movement were each suffering from over-identification with the other. To do justice to both, it was necessary to establish a permanent, independent polio organization of nonpartisan character. The President's interest in the fight against polio need not be disguised (nor could it be under any circumstances), but the cause had to be disengaged from the personality and politics of one man.

The 1937 birthday balls, held in the wake of Roosevelt's tremendous electoral victory over Alf Landon, brought in almost a million dollars. This only demonstrated that the President's birthday was still an occasion for effective fundraising. But the dances could not be expected to bear the whole load forever. The first step in the new direction came in September, 1937, when Roosevelt announced the creation of a new foundation:

"to lead, direct, and unify the fight on every phase of this sickness. It will make every effort to ensure that every responsible research agency in this country is adequately financed to carry out investigations into the cause of infantile paralysis and the methods by which it may be prevented. It will endeavor to eliminate much of the needless after-effect of this disease-



wreckage caused by the failure to make early and accurate diagnosis. . . The new foundation will carry on a broad-gauged educational campaign, prepared under expert medical supervision, and this will be placed within reach of the doctors and the hospitals of this country."

The foundation began operations in Basil O'Connor's law office in January, 1938. He was president. His board of trustees included national personalities such as George E. Allen, William Clayton, Marshall Field, Edsel Ford, James V. Forrestal, Jr., Averell Harriman, Robert E. McMath, Carroll B. Merriam, Jeremiah Milbank, Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Thomas J. Watson, Robert W. Woodruff, and Clarence M. Woolley. Their first fund campaign was without precedent as a promotional raid on the mind, heart, and pocketbook of the United States. It set a pattern for even bigger polio fund drives which, in later years, were imitated by the newer health agencies that began cropping up all over the American landscape. Advertising geniuses, public relations manipulators, and experts in the mysteries of every trade and profession were enlisted in the planning of the first campaign, and a few were put on the payroll. Eddie Cantor, a devoted volunteer, minted the March of Dimes idea at a Hollywood meeting. The campaign climax came when he, Jack Benny, Bing Crosby, Rudy Vallee, Deanna Durbin, Lawrence Tibbett, Jascha Heifetz, Joe Penner, Kate Smith, Edgar Bergen, and the Lone Ranger all went on the air with appeals for dimes. With Presidential permission, the coins were to be mailed to the White House.

For weeks before this spectacular climax the country was saturated with polio information. Publicity and hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of donated advertising appeared in hundreds of publications. Physicians were persuaded to





talk polio on the radio and in the press, and were sometimes easier to deal with than they had been in previous years, because the new foundation possessed medical credentials that the old birthday-ball group had lacked.

Edgar Guest wrote a poem in behalf of the campaign. Mrs. Roosevelt, Mrs. Charles Evans Hughes, Mrs. Cordell Hull, and similarly-situated ladies rallied the nation's women. Walt Disney produced a special Mickey Mouse cartoon. Warner Bros. made two appropriate short subjects. Shirley Temple spoke. Car cards were posted in public vehicles throughout the land. Match companies printed a million advertising matchbooks, for free. Hundreds of billboards pleaded the cause. Children wore campaign buttons labeled, "I'm glad I'm well." A publisher's council enlisted the proprietors of 4100 newspapers. A medical council represented 400 public health officers, and an orthopedic council got support from 1000 specialists. There was a motion picture council, a trade and industry council, a radio council, a labor council, and councils of women, hotels, sports writers, fraternities, and educators.

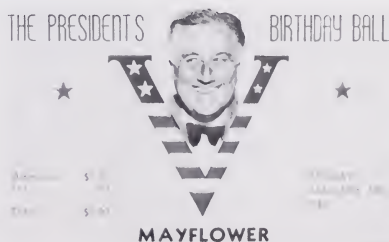
Two days after Eddie Cantor's tear-jerking broadcast in which he called for "a March of Dines to reach all the way to the White House," the White House staff notified the National Foundation that it was in serious trouble. "You fellows have ruined the President," said Marvin McIntyre, one of Roosevelt's secretaries, to Tom Wrigley, the foundation publicist. "All we've got is seventeen dollars and a half. The reporters are asking how much has come in. We're telling them we haven't had time to count it." Gloom reigned.

Twenty-four hours later a Post Office truck delivered twenty-three bags of mail to the White House. They were

full of dimes. The Presidential staff had a new complaint: "The mailroom is swamped. There are trucks and bags all over the place." In three days the President got 230,000 letters and packages, containing 2,680,000 dimes, some of them baked into cakes and pies. It took five months to sort the mess and make an accounting. Total receipts from all sources in the first campaign of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis exceeded \$1,800,000! After expenses were paid half of the remaining monies were allocated to local communities, where they helped community hospitals and ailing neighbors; the other half went to the national committee to fund research.

Receipts from the 1941 Birthday Balls totaled \$2,104,460, the first time more than two million was raised. It was clear that the establishment of an independent National Foundation in 1938 had been prudent and profitable. But other events of 1941 compromised the President's joy as he approached "the dark age of 60" (FDR's word's) on Jan. 30, 1942. In September, the President's mother, Sara Delano Roosevelt, died. She had always presided over the festivities at the Waldorf-Astoria and delighted celebrants by recalling her famous son's bland reply when, as a little boy, he was reprimanded for ordering his young playmates about. "Mummie," he told her, "if I don't give the orders nothing would happen." This was indeed a prophetic remark since FDR was now giving the orders as the most powerful president the United States had ever had. And beyond that, on his orders and those of his British counterpart, Winston Churchill, rested the fate of threatened democracy. The war put another crimp in the President's birthday plans because his four sons were away in the service. Thus Roosevelt marked the occasion with two dozen close friends at a White House luncheon. The nation marked the President's 60th birthday in the new customary way. Irving Berlin wrote a special song for the occasion and the annual series of dinners and balls were held, except in parts of Texas and Colorado and in Providence, Rhode Island. At these locations funds were collected, though parties were cancelled because of the war. In the weeks that followed, the White House was again swamped with coin bearing envelopes, some addressed to "The President," others simply bearing his picture which had been clipped from a newspaper or magazine. Some Washington residents merely put two cent stamps on dimes and dropped them in the mail!

The demands of the war preempted presidential participation in the last three Birthday Balls. In 1943 Roosevelt was returning from a meeting with Churchill in Casablanca on January 30. At home, heroic accounts of former polio patients now in uniform filled the national magazines.



Newspapers carried stories of polio victims at home who were doing vital war work.

In 1944 Birthday Ball magazines called attention to the universality of the disease. Japanese prisoners of war reported epidemics in their homeland. Filipino soldiers remembered the President's Birthday Ball in Manila on January 30, 1941. American Armed Forces Commanders joined the battle against polio, the home-front enemy. They included Generals Dwight D. Eisenhower and Mark Clark, Admiral William F. Halsey, Jr., Colonel Oveta Culp Hobby, and Marine Colonel Ruth C. Streeter. Labor leaders William Green and Philip Murray headed nationwide appeals.

In 1945 FDR was on his way to Yalta when a minor crisis developed. The President's chefs had baked a cake for his 63rd birthday, so had cooks for the officers' mess. It appeared that one group would be disappointed until daughter Anna Boettiger solved the dilemma. She ordered three more cakes of varying sizes. The cakes were piled one on top of the other. The first four were labeled First Term, Second Term, etc. On the top cake there was a huge question mark representing an uncertain future. FDR and his staff enjoyed the moment but his future was incredibly short. Ten weeks later he was dead.

In the days, weeks, and years which followed April 12, 1945, the nation has considered thousands of ideas for monuments to commemorate this great leader. FDR stamps were issued (particularly appropriate since FDR enjoyed many hours of respite during the War with his large stamp collection) and the decision was made to put his likeness on a coin. In 1945 three coins (the Lincoln penny introduced in 1909; the Mercury dime introduced in 1916; and the Walking Liberty half dollar which was minted from 1916 to 1947) were ripe for replacement, since they had been in service the statutory minimum of 25 years. The dime was the obvious choice, given Roosevelt's close identification with it through the March of Dimes, which he had founded seven years earlier. In addition there was political significance since he was first elected President when the national refrain was, "Buddy, can you spare a dime?" The new dime first appeared in 1946; "the most perfect union of subject and denomination ever struck" in the words of the *New York Times*.

The March of Dimes continued its efforts and several medical breakthroughs were made in the late 1940's. The most severe polio epidemic of all time occurred in 1952. Illinois and California reported more than 4000 cases each and Texas reported 3900. The Midwest was plagued with an unprecedented outbreak. The national toll was 57,628 cases. Against this background one can appreciate the sense of jubilation and relief which swept the land three years later when the Food and Drug Administration announced on April 12, 1955 that the vaccine developed by Dr. Jonas Salk had been proven "safe, effective and potent" against poliomyelitis. Radio, television and newspapers carried the good news. Church bells pealed and town whistles split the morning air. Everywhere signs appeared expressing the common thought: Thank you Dr. Jonas Salk. Thank you.

The announcement of a vaccine against polio marked a unique triumph in the history of medicine. It was also a triumph of the determination of the American people. For 17 years they had contributed generously on a completely voluntary basis to underwrite and support scientific efforts to combat and overcome one specific disease. During that period the public contributions permitted the March of Dimes to spend \$295.2 million to provide care for polio

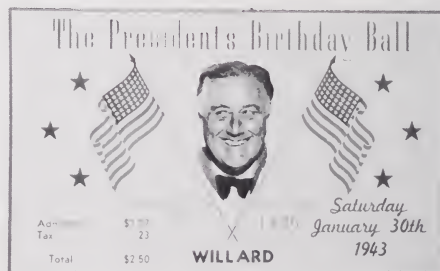
patients and to educate doctors and other health workers and the public at large about polio. Laboratory research and development costs amounted to \$25.5 million during those years.

Basil O'Connor once summed up the battle against polio by saying, "Never in the history of medicine has the quest for a preventive for a terrifying epidemic disease ended in an interval as short or at a cost as small as that of the struggle against polio. But this achievement would not have been possible without that unique American phenomenon called 'Voluntarism' by which ordinary men and women joined hands with scientists and gave their dollars and dimes to conquer epidemic polio."

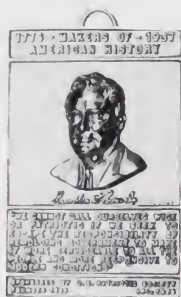
The disappearance of polio as a significant public health problem was undeniably due to the widespread administration of the Salk vaccine, which was used exclusively through 1961, and the Sabin vaccine, which is now almost exclusively used in the U. S.

The National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis founded by President Roosevelt in 1938 was the sole source of support of the research for both polio vaccines.

Note: The Keynoter editorial staff joins Dr. Rouse in expressing appreciation to the March of Dimes Foundation for the assistance it provided him in researching this topic. ★







METAL PLAQUES



SERVING TRAY

THE 1944 TRUMAN NOMINATION

ALBEN BARKLEY'S PERSPECTIVE

A PERSONAL LETTER BY SEN. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

EDITOR'S NOTE: Harry Truman's surprise selection as the Democratic vice presidential nominee at the 1944 convention in Chicago has long been a source of controversy for participants, eye witnesses, and scholars alike. One man regarded as a dark horse contender for the nomination (and reputedly included on a list of five made out by FDR) was Kentucky Senator Alben W. Barkley, who eventually served as Truman's vice president from 1949 to 1953. A few days after Truman's selection, Barkley sent a letter to his son "Bud" (David), daughter-in-law Dorothy, and granddaughter Dorothy Anne describing his version of Truman's selection over incumbent Henry Wallace and South Carolina's James F. Byrnes. *The Keynoter* is indebted to Barkley's grandson and namesake, Alben Barkley II, and to APIC member Julius Rather for making it available to us.

Friday, July 28th, 1944

Dear Dorothy, Bud and Dorothy Anne:

In as much as I have about recovered from the Chicago convention, and am back in the neighborhood of normalcy, I will drop you a few lines to let you know I am still breathing, with head, mane and tail up, and making divers and sundry noises that are not to be spoken of.

I am leaving for Washington tonight, as Congress reassembles Tuesday, August 1st. I thought for a while we might be able to recess again until Labor Day, but it seems now that in view of the war situation it is necessary to complete some legislation on disposition of surplus property and demobilization and reconversion that is important. So we may have to stay there until that is completed, which may take most of August.

Well, the convention was in many respects the most peculiar I ever attended. Of course, everybody knew that Roosevelt would be renominated, notwithstanding the Texas flare-up and some dissatisfaction in Mississippi and another state or two. But I think the nomination of Truman for Vice President was not expected by very many people. He had stated privately and publicly that he was not a candidate, and did not want it. But it seems that Hannegan was maneuvering for him all the time. But he denies this. I suppose I will never know. Neither do I care.

The truth is, I never expected that I would be nominated, and if all those around my office and in Washington pay off their bets on it with me, I will have enough hats to furnish you a good one when you return to civilian life.

Before I left Washington, there were all sorts of rumors and reports that the President had made out a list of five who would be satisfactory to him and that I was on it. This I do not believe, though a newspaper man told me he saw such a list and that I was on it.

From the beginning I felt that he wanted and would insist on Wallace. If he had done so, Wallace would have been nominated. But when he came out with the letter, it was so weak that everybody in Chicago said it was the "kiss of death."

But Henry came out there in person to direct his own campaign. The men who controlled the big delegations, like Flynn of New York, Kelley of Chicago, Hague of New Jersey, and Hannegan of Missouri, were all against Wallace, and urged the President to drop him. But in my opinion if the President had stood his ground these men would have yielded.

But that is only my opinion. The confusing thing is that before the letter about Wallace was released the President had written another letter saying Truman or Douglas would be satisfactory, and then all the Presidential spokesmen began to boost Truman. Douglas never had a chance.

Another funny thing was that Jimmy Byrnes rushed out to Chicago, thinking he had the presidential nod, and he undoubtedly did from what he told me after he withdrew. But he ran strong for two days, then they dropped him, and he withdrew "at the President's request." But he was plenty sore, and it took nearly two hours for him to tell me the story, which was almost incredible.

As for me, I never allowed myself to get worked up over it. I never went to the President or sent anybody to him to find whether I would be satisfactory, or how he felt about me. In fact I never saw the President after my February veto speech except on two occasions, and they were at the two legislative conferences held since that date with Rayburn, McCormack and Wallace. The subject of the veto and my speech have never been mentioned between us since the incident occurred.

While Wallace and Byrnes undoubtedly have a right to feel aggrieved because he did give them both a gesture of support, I cannot say the same for myself. I only allowed the submission of my name on account of the insistence of many friends, who thought I would fit into the ticket and the campaign. But when I left for Chicago I told Mom I would not be nominated.

If there had been a deadlock after the second ballot, many delegations had told me that they were going to vote for me. But that time never came, and I am really glad I was not nominated. I would rather be Senator six years than Vice President for four years, although the Vice-Presidency is a much easier position to fill than the one I have.

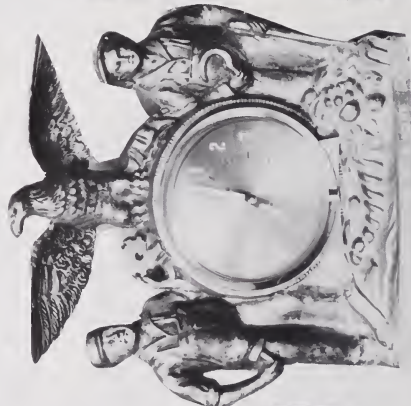
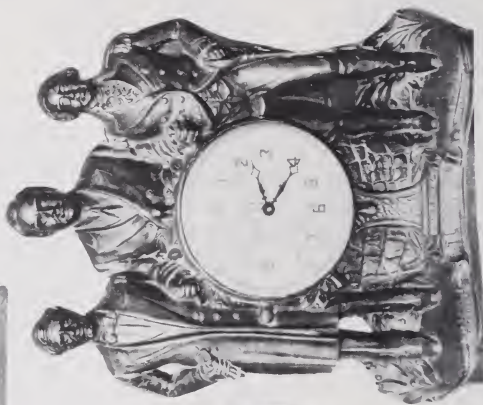
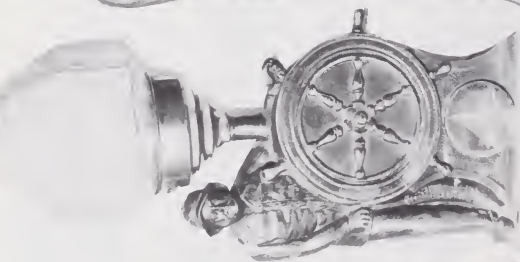
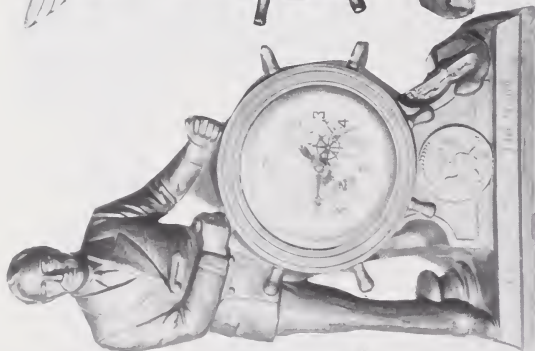
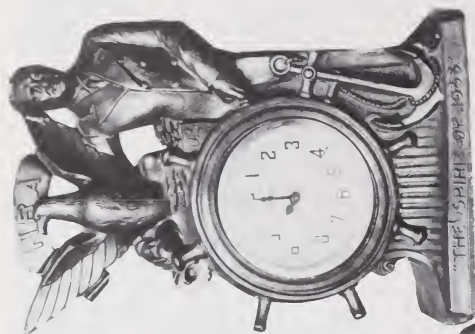
What I am telling you is, of course, confidential. But to tell you the truth I am able to sing that song, "This can't be love, because I feel so well."

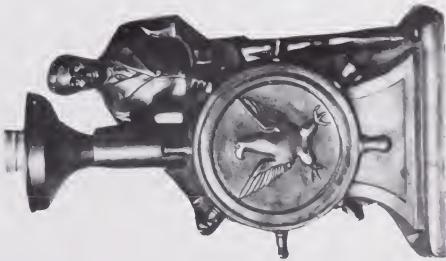
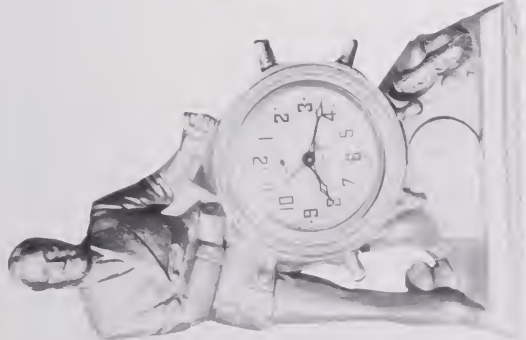
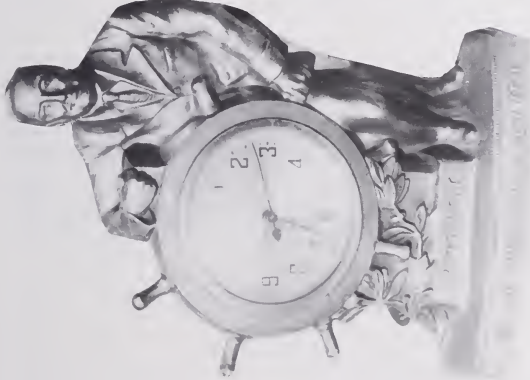
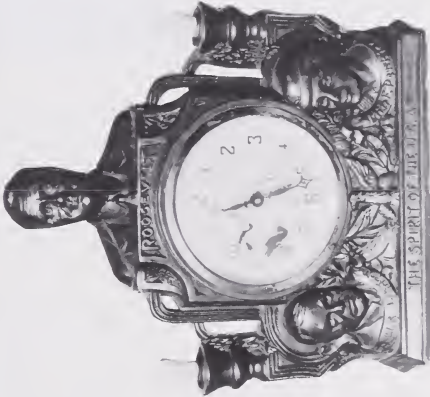
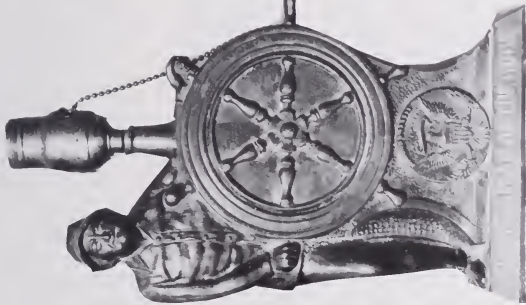
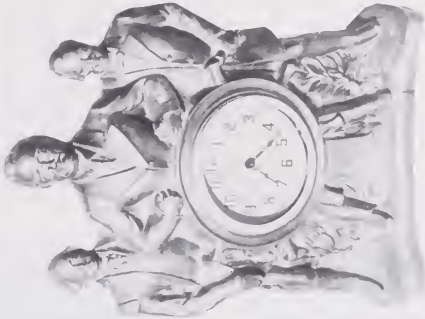
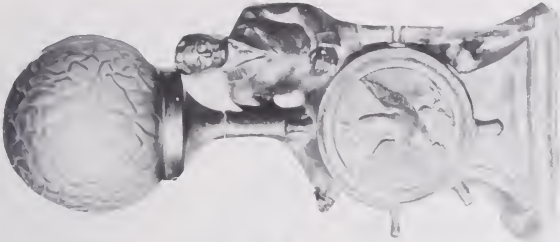
Well, I must pack. So will close. I will write you all the gossip I pick up when I get back to Washington.

Love to all the Family,
Affectionately, Dad



"THE MAN OF THE HOUR" — F.D.R. CLOCKS





THE CAMPAIGN STAMPS OF F.D.R.

by ROBERT M. PLATT



Franklin D. Roosevelt was a candidate in five presidential campaigns, four times at the top of the ticket and once for the second spot. Campaign stamps were issued in all five of these elections. Together with the stamps promoting the National Recovery Administration and the Allied war effort, FDR helped inspire a large number of political and patriotic stamps. This is ironically fitting, for FDR was an ardent stamp collector in his own right.

Although campaign stamps have not received much attention from collectors compared to buttons and other types of campaign collectibles, they have played a role in presidential politics since before the Civil War. The first postage stamp, known as the "penny black," was issued in Britain in 1840. On March 3, 1847, Congress authorized the issuance of adhesive American postage stamps to go on sale the following July 1. Nine years later prepayment of postage with official stamps became obligatory. During this period the non-postal campaign stamp came into being. The oldest campaign stamp in my collection is an 1856 Republican variety promoting John C. Fremont. It is likely that every major-party nominee since then has inspired at least one stamp. FDR was assuredly no exception.

In 1920 Roosevelt, presidential nominee James Cox, and Woodrow Wilson's dream of a world peace organization were promoted on a red, white and blue stamp (Cox-47 in Hake) that read "Keep Faith With our Sons/Bring America into The League of Nations/Vote For Cox and Roosevelt." This stamp is obviously much larger than most buttons from the period and bears a more complete message. Affixed to the back of an envelope, the stamp could be easily read.

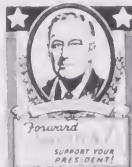
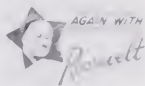
To promote Roosevelt's 1932 presidential campaign, many styles of stamps were used, for in the midst of the Great Depression stamps were much cheaper than buttons and money was of the essence. At least four jugate varieties featuring FDR and running mate John Nance Garner appeared. The "Give America Back to the People!" stamp was printed both white on black and white on brown. The jugate variety indicating that "Happy Days Will Come Again" after Roosevelt and Garner took office is orange and white. In 1932 Calvin Coolidge was the only former president alive, a fact noted on the satirical "What This Country Needs is Two Living Ex-Presidents" orange and white

stamp. The most unusual 1932 FDR-Garner jugate stamp is the purple and white variety combining the slogan "Repeal and Employment," the pledge of "A New Deal/A Square Deal" (that also exploited the memory of another Roosevelt), and the information that "One Cent Was Paid for this Stamp to an Unemployed Person." Other 1932 FDR stamps bore interesting designs and legends. A "Democratic Victory 1932" stamp featured a donkey somewhat similar to the one on the "Kicking Out the Depression" mechanical button. An old stamp originally promoting Prohibition with the motto "The Nation's Choice - It Will Prevail" was counterstruck "REPEAL" and used widely by "Wet" pro-Roosevelt forces. In support of the most famous stamp collector in the land, the American Philatelic Society issued orange and green varieties of its "A Stamp Collector for President" stamp conferring upon FDR its "Stamp of Approval."

During Roosevelt's first term the most comprehensive attempt to stimulate the economy was through the NRA, the National Recovery Administration. A blue eagle with the motto "We Do Our Part" was the NRA logo. Businessmen placed large NRA placards on their walls and window stickers on their doors and windows. Millions of NRA stamps were used much as Christmas seals are used today.

1936 Roosevelt stamps reflect both the themes of the New Deal and the diminished influence of Vice President John Nance Garner, both in the campaign and in the administration. Where several varieties of stamps had featured Garner in 1932, no known varieties did so in 1936. Roosevelt had established himself as the nation's leader and the chief cam-





campaign issue for the Democrats. Two different styles pictured FDR with the legend "No Retreat - Forward With Roosevelt" and a picture variety saluted "Our Gallant Leader Franklin D. Roosevelt."

The 1940 contest between FDR and Wendell Willkie generated a huge assortment of campaign stamps. As was the case with buttons and other devices, the Willkie campaign may have produced more styles of stamps than any other campaign before or since. Many expressed the "No Third Term" sentiment. Many FDR stamps appeared as well. One of several Roosevelt-Henry Wallace jugate varieties was the brown and white "For Confidence and Security" stamp. Glossy black and white "Re-elect Franklin D. Roosevelt" picture stamps were printed in two sizes. A small "We Want Roosevelt" sticker was also used in 1940. Many of these

varieties had Willkie counterparts. Not a stamp but a cloth patch is the red, white and blue "Again With Roosevelt" picture variety. This too had a Willkie twin.

Related to the Roosevelt presidency are the many patriotic stamps that appeared during World War II to promote the Allied war effort. Among the wartime patriotic stickers and stamps (often attached to letters mailed to GIs) specifically related to FDR are the round Four Freedoms sticker and the "We Will Win/Forward Together With United Strength" round picture variety. During the 1944 FDR campaign against Thomas E. Dewey the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) sold the "I Did My Share" FDR-Harry Truman jugate stamp as a fundraiser to support the Roosevelt campaign, in the same manner that the CIO sold "He Is Worth My Buck" items that year. ★



NEWS

IN MEMORIAM

ALPHAEUS H. "DEWY" ALBERT

We were saddened to learn of the passing of one of the pioneers in the button collecting field—Alphaeus H. "Dewy" Albert, a member of the A.P.I.C. Hall of Fame. "Dewy", who was born in 1891, acquired his nickname as a little boy because he, like the famous hero of Manila Bay, had a way of getting things done—a trait which obviously he had his whole life. Unlike the Admiral, however, he spelled his nickname "Dewy."

"Dewy's" wife Lillian was one of the foremost authorities of what we refer to as clothing buttons, which was how he started with his collecting and research of political and military uniform buttons. With regard to this study he wrote four books on the subject, including *The Washington Historical Button*, which was later incorporated into his premier source book on political and military shank buttons from the Revolutionary War on—*Record of American Uniform and Historical Buttons*.

He had an abundance of energy for the things he loved—he was a researcher, photographer, engineer, amateur radio operator, town historian and on and on. This remarkable man combined all of those talents into sharing his knowl-

edge and helping others. I had the extreme pleasure of reviewing my shank button collection with "Dewy" in December, 1979, when he was 88. What was particularly remarkable was that he could remember seeing some of the pieces decades ago and knew exactly what collections they originated from. His photographic memory was a particular asset in his work.

When anyone had a question on shank buttons, there was only one person to turn to. Besides his books, numerous articles were written for the *Keynoter* spanning several decades—the most recent being an article on back-name political campaign buttons from the Summer, 1980, *Keynoter*.

Those of us who had the privilege of meeting or knowing this fine individual realized how truly dedicated he was. He never retired from life and was always willing to take time out at any meeting to spend time educating both the beginning and advanced collector alike with information on shank buttons which was unsurpassed. His book will be a living testimony to this fine gentleman. He will be missed by all.

David J. Frent



THE WHITE HOUSE

October 14, 1933

ROOSEVELT PARADE
WEDNESDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 14th, 1933

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
WARD _____ PRECINCT _____

I am marching in the parade upon the invitation of



**GIVE
PENNSYLVANIA
THE ROOSEVELT
NEW DEAL**

vote

DEMOCRATIC

X







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